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Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Mass.

1870





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HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR  
OF MASSACHUSETTS,  
AND OF  
LABOR LEGISLATION IN THAT STATE  
FROM 1833 TO 1876.

PREPARED FOR THE BUREAU, AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CENTENNIAL  
EXHIBITION AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1876,

BY CHAS. F. PIDGIN.



BOSTON:  
WRIGHT & POTTER, STATE PRINTERS.  
1876.



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1. The first group of people who are interested in the results of the study are the researchers themselves. They want to know if the study was successful in achieving its objectives and if the results are consistent with their expectations.

## Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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OFFICE OF BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR,  
83 PEMBERTON SQUARE, BOSTON, April 15, 1876. }

SIR:—I have the honor to transmit, in accordance with a request of a special committee of the governor's council, dated July 27, 1875, a History of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts, as a contribution to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia. The matter herewith presented, as was also suggested, forms part of the Seventh Annual Report of this Bureau.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, *Chief.*

To His Excellency ALEXANDER H. RICE, *Governor of Massachusetts.*



HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR,  
AND OF  
LABOR LEGISLATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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I.—INTRODUCTION.

The design of this volume is to give a compendious narrative of the work of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics upon the subject of Labor, for the seven years commencing with May, 1869, and closing with May of the present year, 1876. The work has been undertaken for two reasons. The following letter supplies the principal one, and is in itself a sufficient authorization for what has been done :—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }  
BOSTON, July 27, 1875. }

*To the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.*

SIR :—The special committee of the executive council, to whom was referred the matter of the representation of the State at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, desire to call your attention to the importance of preparing an elaborate, and in some degree historical, report of the work of your department, which shall serve for presentation at the Exhibition, as well as for your next annual report.

Respectfully,

HORATIO G. KNIGHT,  
SETH TURNER,  
EDW. H. DUNN,  
*Committee.*

The other reason for preparing a history of the bureau is found in the fact that its reports are out of print, and have been so generally called for, that it is impossible for the

bureau to supply a complete set of the volumes issued. The reports having been supplied only to those desiring them, and never having been placed on sale, there seemed to be no way of satisfying the requests of those wishing a complete set of the reports until the action of the above committee was taken. Their suggestion opened the way for bringing the work of this bureau to the attention of the whole country, and also for presenting the results of its investigations in a concise form for the use of individuals, libraries and governments. Possessing the opportunity of satisfying the demands of all interested in our work, we have aimed to merit the advantages conferred by following implicitly the suggestions of the committee of the governor's council. We do not contemplate a critical review of what has been done, nor do we intend to say more should have been done, or better done. Our aim has been to codify the results of the seven years' investigations, and present their pith in a compact manner. In fact, as far as possible, to give an exact and full presentation of seven reports in one. In all cases where practicable, the language of the reports themselves is given, rather than a rewritten presentation of their meaning.

To properly judge of the work of this bureau, a knowledge of the causes which led to its organization, its scope and power as fixed by law, its manner of working is indispensable, and much labor has been expended to look up and arrange the information which follows concerning labor legislation in Massachusetts and foreign countries previous to and since the establishment of this bureau, the provisions of the organic law creating it, as regards money and breadth of action, and the subsidiary details explaining its manner of working and the obstacles it has encountered. If the information thus supplied leads to a better comprehension of the bureau's work, it will, for that reason, possess a value beyond its historic worth.

The decennial census and industrial statistics for 1875 having formed a special branch of the bureau's work for eighteen months, a full description of the undertaking from its inception to its practical fulfilment is hereinafter given. By the provisions of the law authorizing the bureau to take the census and gather the industrial statistics, the resulting

volumes are practically reports of statistics of labor, and the facts obtained really form part of the bureau work, and properly have a place in its history.

We have not deemed it inappropriate to present a few facts in relation to the future work of the bureau; not by suggesting new plans of action, but by showing how much more can be done with the facts already in possession of the department. The gathering of facts is a comparatively easy business; but their proper tabulation and application require time and thought, and the statistician should use both freely before issuing reports upon which are based the arguments or assertions of workingmen, students, political economists or statesmen. With this brief explanation of our underlying purposes, we begin the work before us.

## II.—LABOR LEGISLATION FROM 1833 TO 1863.

The following summary of laws passed by the Massachusetts legislature includes those which relate to or affect labor. This presentation of labor legislation for a period of thirty years, 1833–1863, is taken from the first report of this bureau :—

“ Nothing specific is found in the volumes which cover the period prior to 1831.

“ Governor Lincoln’s address, January 8, 1833, appeals to the legislature for an equal participation of creditors in the effects of bankrupts, and for mitigation of imprisonment. He refers to having fully and repeatedly submitted his views to previous legislatures.

“ The volume of state documents for 1831 contains the report of a special commission appointed by Governor Lincoln; this report was presented by him to the legislature June 1, 1831; it provides for an equal distribution of assets, and by one of its sections proposes to abolish imprisonment for any debt of less than fifty dollars.

“ March 12, 1833, an Act of incorporation was granted to the South Reading Mechanic and Agricultural Institution, ‘for encouragement to agriculture and the mechanic arts, and for relieving the distresses of unfortunate mechanics and their families.’

“ March 19, 1833, an Act was approved by the governor, releasing civil officers from suit in case of the escape of a debtor from prison.

- ✓ "February 28, 1834.—Worcester County Manual Labor High School incorporated.
- ✓ "March 6, 1834.—Berkshire County Manual Labor High School incorporated.
- "March 31, 1834.—Act abolishing imprisonment for debt approved.
- ✓ "Chap. 245, vol. 13, Laws of Massachusetts, 1834 to 1836.—An Act to provide for the better instruction of youth employed in manufacturing establishments. This Act requires three months' schooling each year; employer fined fifty dollars for violating. *App. April 16, 1836.*
- "The address of Governor Davis to the legislature of 1835 (House Doc., No. 3), deploras the low repute of the state militia, and states that it is probably the bitter fruit of unsatisfactory laws.
- ✓ "Chap. 107, vol. 14, Laws of Massachusetts, 1837–38.—An Act to provide for the better instruction of youth in manufacturing establishments. This Act provides for the release of the employer from the penalty, in case he is provided with a sworn certificate of attendance at school.
- "Chap. 58, Laws of 1839, incorporates the Charlestown Mechanics' Union Charitable Association, with the powers set forth in the 44th chapter of the Revised Statutes.
- ✓ "Chap. 54, Laws of 1841.—Danvers Mechanic Institute incorporated.
- ✓ "Chap. 49, Laws of 1843.—Boston Society for the Diffusion of Information among Emigrants incorporated.
- "Chap. 169, Acts of 1845.—Brook Farm Phalanx incorporated, 'for the purpose of promoting education, agricultural knowledge and habits of manual and mechanical industry.' Powers and liabilities set forth in the 38th and 44th chapters of the Revised Statutes.
- ✓ "Chap. 171, Acts of 1845.—An Act to obtain statistical information in relation to certain branches of industry.
- ✓ "Chap. 99, Acts of 1845.—Act granting one-half of a township in Maine, six miles square, to the Worcester County Manual Labor High School.
- ✓ "Chap. 220, Acts of 1849.—An Act defining and repealing sections of previous Acts concerning the employment of children.
- "Chap. 294, Acts of 1850.—Cities and towns authorized to make all needful provisions concerning truants and children not attending school.
- "Chap. 66, Acts of 1850.—An Act incorporating the Worcester County Mechanics' Association; 'purpose to promote moral and intellectual improvement, perfect the mechanic arts, and for charitable purposes.'

" Chap. 343, Acts of 1851.—An Act to secure to mechanics and laborers their payment for labor by a lien on real estate.

" Chap. 240, Acts of 1852, 'requires all persons having children under their control to send them to school three months each year.'

" Chap. 307, Acts of 1852.—Extension of the principles of the lien law.

" Chap. 313, Acts of 1852.—An Act to incorporate the Suffolk Mutual Loan and Accumulating Fund Association; 'object of the association to loan funds to those contributors who wish to purchase homesteads.'

" Chap. 238, Acts of 1852.—General truant law.

" Chap. 343, Acts of 1853.—City truant law.

" Chap. 392, Acts of 1854.—An Act to incorporate the Model Lodging House Association.

" Chap. 309, Acts of 1855, requires school committees to report violations of the law of May, 1852, to the treasurers of their towns and cities.

" Chap. 379, Acts of 1855, amends the Act of May, 1849, concerning children.

" Chap. 18, Acts of 1855.—Act incorporating an industrial school for girls. Lucretia O. Everett and others.

" Chap. 444, Acts of 1855.—An Act abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud.

" Chap. 431, Acts of 1855.—Amendment to lien law.

" Chap. 231, Acts of 1855.—Extension of the lien law to ships and vessels.

" Chap. 141, Acts of 1857, consolidates the Acts concerning imprisonment for debt and the punishment of fraudulent debtors.

" Chap. 50, Acts of 1857, requires the insurance commissioners to report annually the conduct and condition of the loan fund associations.

" Chap. 83, Acts of 1858, requires eighteen weeks' schooling.

" Chap. 55, Acts of 1858.—Amendment to lien law.

" Chap. 188, Acts of 1859.—School committees required to give notice to treasurers of violations of the Act of 1852; treasurer fined if he fails to comply.

" Chap. 166, Acts of 1863.—An Act to provide for the reception of a grant of Congress, and to create a fund for the promotion of education in agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The preceding summary shows secured legislation, but gives no indication of the causes which led to the passage of the various laws. It is difficult to trace the origin and course of



the various labor reform movements. The attempts to secure a reduction of the hours of labor are, however, quite fully recorded. The following information, indicating the opinions and showing the actions of workingmen themselves, is gleaned from official sources.

In September, 1832, a convention of delegates from the farmers, mechanics and workingmen of New England was held in the representatives' hall of the state house. Grievances were discussed, and resolutions and an address adopted, setting forth the burdens under which the laboring classes suffered from excessive hours, imprisonment for debt, the lack of a lien law, onerous militia service, and various other causes. (See preceding summary for legislation in 1833.)

January 21, 1834, a meeting to form a general trades' union was called at the Boston common council room, and a committee appointed to carry the plan into effect. In March, a constitution was submitted and ratified by the trades. The union, on the Fourth of July, had a procession, with two thousand men in line, an oration and dinner. The oration was delivered in the open air on Fort Hill by Frederick Robinson, Esq. The dinner took place at Faneuil Hall. The committee of arrangements apologized for the absence of a clergyman at the banquet, and stated that application was made to twenty-two religious associations for the use of a church in which to deliver the oration, but their request was in every case refused. Consequently no clergyman was invited to ask a blessing.

October 6, 1830, Edward Everett delivered a lecture on labor before the Charlestown Lyceum. Among other things, he said: "If, as I have endeavored to show, man is by nature a working being, it would follow that a workingmen's party is founded in the very principles of our nature. . . . But the workingmen's party, however organized, must subsist in every civilized country to the end of time."

November 13, 1831, he spoke again before the Franklin Institute of Boston, but did not take ground in favor of a reduction of hours.

Between 1830 and 1840, Rev. William Ellery Channing delivered many addresses and lectures on the elevation of the laboring classes. In one he said: "We do not find that civ-

ilization has lightened men's toils: as yet it has increased them; and in this I see the sign of a deep defect in what we call the progress of society."

In September, 1834, a meeting of workingmen in Boston chose ten delegates to a convention of farmers, mechanics and others, to be holden at Northampton later in the same month.

In 1835, the authorities of the city of Boston refused the use of a hall for an evening meeting to discuss the ten-hour movement.

In 1833, '34 and '35, it is stated that a workingmen's party existed, and chose candidates for governor, etc.

In 1836, the Hon. James G. Carter, chairman of the committee on education, in a report to the legislature, spoke of the "constant inducement to manufacturers to employ female labor and the labor of children, to the exclusion of men's labor, because they can be had cheaper."

In 1837, the State instituted inquiries concerning the products of industry of the population, somewhat similar to those instituted by the United States in 1840, but the results were exceedingly erroneous. (See House Document, No. 124, 1849.)

April 10, 1840, President Van Buren issued the order directing "that all public establishments will hereafter be regulated, as to working hours, by the ten-hour system."

In his report for 1840, the Hon. Horace Mann wrote earnestly concerning the school laws of 1837-38, and of the necessity of limiting the greed of heartless employers and unnatural parents. In 1842, the hours of labor of children under twelve were limited to ten per day.

In 1844, the ten-hour plan was established in most of the ship-building trades in the State. In 1853, many trades were working but ten hours. The shipwrights and calkers increased their prices to three dollars per day, and worked but a trifle over eight hours.

The preceding facts are necessarily given in a fragmentary way. The movement for the reduction of the hours of labor did not step forward impressively, gaining strength from year to year, but was fitful in its expression. For this reason the thread is wanting to make a history of labor legislation harmonious.

In 1845 (House Document, No. 50) petitions were introduced to the legislature praying for the regulation of the hours of labor in corporations, eleven hours being the fixed time desired. The petitioners numbered 2,138, of which Lowell supplied 1,150; Andover, 500; and Fall River, then a town, 488. The matter was referred to a committee, who reported against any legislation. They gave as reasons, that it was unjust to regulate hours for corporations, when private individuals would be free from the operations of such a law. They stated their belief, that factory labor was no more injurious than other kinds, that wages would necessarily have to be reduced if such a law was passed, and that other States would distance Massachusetts in the markets of the world. To use their own words, such law would "close the gate of every mill in the State." No action was taken by the legislature beyond accepting the report of the committee.

The question of hours remained dormant, as regarded the legislature, until 1850 (House Document, No. 153). The committee considering the subject, elicited the following information: The Lowell mills were running twelve hours (11 h. 58½ m.) daily, or fourteen hours more per week than English mills. It was also found that, of 2,611 young girls, averaging twenty-two years of age, who had entered the mills six years before in good health, 878, or thirty-three per cent, had deteriorated sadly, dyspepsia being the prevailing complaint.

The majority report considered legislation inexpedient; but the minority reported a bill establishing *eleven* hours as the legal day on and after September 1, 1850, and *ten* hours on and after July 1, 1851. Again was legislation postponed.

Two years elapsed before the subject came up again. In 1852 (House Document, No. 185), an attempt was made to have ten hours made the legal day, in the absence of a special contract, and providing that children under fifteen should not work more than ten hours; but the bill failed.

Another rejected plan provided for *twelve* hours on and after July 4, 1852, *eleven* hours October 1, 1852, and *ten* hours July 4, 1853. The usual exceptions were made in case of repairs, etc.

### III.—LABOR LEGISLATION FROM 1864 TO 1868.

Governor Bullock's address for 1866 contains the following allusions to—

*"The Questions of Labor."*

"It will be my duty to communicate to the legislature, when received, the report of the commissioners appointed under a Resolve of the last general court, to consider the interests and the hours of labor. In the absence of their report, I omit a general consideration of the subject. The question of the hours of labor is not merely one of sanitary connections, but it relates to the social condition of a State. Considered in this broad sense, it is at all times entitled to careful and respectful investigation. There are volumes of evidence exhibiting the degree of attention which the subject has from time to time received from the parliament of Great Britain. Having myself no hesitation as to the rightful authority of the legislature over the subject, and believing that a concession to the wishes of those who seek for a thorough inquiry will be productive of a better understanding, not only of the specific question itself, but of the intimate and mutually beneficial relations which all classes sustain to each other, I submit the matter to your wisdom."

The succeeding abstract of secured labor legislation, from 1864 to 1868, is copied mainly from the First Bureau Report.

"Chap. 116, Acts of 1865.—Act to incorporate the Boston Labor Reform Association, for the purpose of improving the condition of the mechanic and laboring classes in their various occupations, etc.

"Chap. 62, Acts of 1865, appoints an unpaid commission of five to collect information and statistics in regard to the hours of labor and the condition and prospects of the industrial class.

"Chap. 206, Acts of 1865, exempts from attachment the tools of a mechanic to the amount of not more than three hundred dollars.

"Chap. 270, Acts of 1865, amends the apprenticeship law, by repealing imprisonment, and substituting a bond.

"Chap. 290, Acts of 1866.—Act authorizing the formation of co-operative associations.

"Chap. 67, Acts of 1866.—The business hours of the departments of the state government to be determined by the governor and council.

"Chap. 273, Acts of 1866.—An Act in relation to the employment of children in manufacturing establishments.

"SECT. 1. No child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment within this Commonwealth, and no child between the age of ten and fourteen years shall be so employed, unless he has attended some public or private school under teachers approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, at least six months during the year next preceding such employment; nor shall such employment continue unless such child shall attend school at least six months in each and every year.

"SECT. 2. The owner, agent or superintendent of any manufacturing establishment, who knowingly employs a child in violation of the preceding section, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars for each offence.

"SECT. 3. No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment within this Commonwealth, more than eight hours in any one day.

"SECT. 4. Any parent or guardian who allows or consents to the employment of a child, in violation of the first section of this act, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars for each offence.

"SECT. 5. The governor, with the advice and consent of the council, may, at his discretion, instruct the constable of the Commonwealth and his deputies to enforce the provisions of chapter forty-two of the General Statutes, and all other laws regulating the employment of children in manufacturing establishments, and to prosecute all violations of the same.

"Chap. 92, Resolves of 1866.—Resolve authorizing the appointment by the governor of a commission of three persons to investigate the subject of the hours of labor in its relation to the social, educational and sanitary condition of the working classes.

"Chap. 85, Resolves of 1866.—Resolve appropriates ten thousand dollars for representation of industries of the State at the Universal Exposition in 1867 at Paris.

"Chap. 285, Acts of 1867.—An Act in relation to the schooling and hours of labor of children employed in manufacturing and mechanical establishments.

"SECT. 1. No child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment within this Commonwealth, and no child between the age of ten and fifteen years shall be so employed, unless he has attended some public or private day school under teachers approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, at least three months during the year next preceding such employment: *provided*, said child shall have lived within the Commonwealth during the preceding six months; nor shall such employment continue unless such child shall attend school at least three months in each and every year; and *provided*, that tuition of three hours per day in a public or private day school approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, during a term of six months, shall be deemed the equivalent of three months' attendance at a school kept in accordance with the customary hours of tuition; and no time less than sixty days of actual schooling shall be accounted as three months, and no time less than one hundred and twenty half-days of actual schooling shall be deemed an equivalent of three months.

"SECT. 2. No child under the age of fifteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment more than sixty hours in one week.

"SECT. 3. Any owner, agent, superintendent or overseer of any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, who shall knowingly employ or permit to be employed, any child, in violation of the preceding sections, and any parent or guardian who allows or consents to such employment, shall for such offence forfeit the sum of fifty dollars.

"SECT. 4. It shall be the duty of the constable of the Commonwealth to specially detail one of his deputies to see that the provisions of this act and all other laws regulating the employment of children or minors in manufacturing or mechanical establishments, are complied with, and to prosecute offences against the same; and he shall report annually to the governor all proceedings under this act; and nothing in this section shall be so construed as to prohibit any person from prosecuting such offences.

"SECT. 5. Chapter two hundred and seventy-three of the acts of the year eighteen hundred and sixty-six is hereby repealed: *provided*, this act shall not affect any proceedings now pending.

"SECT. 6. This act shall take effect sixty days from its passage.

"Chap. 174, Acts of 1867.—The Co-operative Mills incorporated.

"Chap. 264, Acts of 1867.—Shares in co-operative associations to the value of twenty dollars exempted from attachment and execution.

"Chap. 95, Acts of 1868.—Wages of wife and minor children of debtor exempted from attachment. ✓

"Chap. 279, Acts of 1868.—Overseers of poor prohibited from removing minors from the State."

A careful search makes manifest many of the causes which led to the passage of the preceding laws. In 1865, eighteen weeks' schooling was required for all working children under twelve, and twelve weeks for those between twelve and fifteen.

March 8, 1865, Major John W. Mahan, a member of the House of Representatives from Boston, offered, so far as is known entirely on his own responsibility, the following Order:—

"*Ordered*, That the Judiciary Committee consider the expediency of regulating and limiting the number of hours constituting a day's labor, and of making it a penal offence for any employer to require an employé to labor beyond such number of hours as may be prescribed by law."

[The Order contained, also, a clause against combinations by dealers to advance the price of the necessaries of life.]

The Order and petitions were referred to a joint special committee, which reported by its chairman, on the part of the House, Mr. Edward H. Rogers of Chelsea, a Resolve asking for the appointment of an unpaid commission of five to investigate the subject of the hours of labor. The Resolve was passed, and approved by Governor Andrew. He selected the following gentlemen to constitute the commission: William P. Tilden, Henry I. Bowditch, F. B. Sanborn, Elizur Wright and George H. Snelling. Their report was made February 7, 1866 (House Document, No. 98), and will be considered farther on.

In 1866, the legislature passed the following Resolve:—

“That a commission of three persons be appointed by the governor, with power to send for persons and papers, to investigate the subject of the hours of labor, especially in its relation to the social, educational and sanitary condition of the industrial classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive interest of the State.”

The commission was composed of Amasa Walker, William Hyde and Edward H. Rogers. The two first named made a majority report, and the latter submitted a minority report. The report was presented January 1, 1867 (House Document, No. 44), and will be examined in its important details in the next section of this volume.

The factory agitation of 1867 resulted in the Act amending that of 1866 (both are given on page 14), and General H. K. Oliver was appointed a special state constable to enforce its provisions.

June 24, 1868, the national eight-hour law was passed, and went into operation at the Charlestown navy yard, July 6. In the spring of 1869, the workmen were informed that their pay would be reduced one-fifth. This led to complications from which relief was found in the proclamation of President Grant, dated May 21, which directed that no reduction in wages should be made on account of reduction in hours.

#### IV.—REPORTS OF TWO COMMISSIONS ON HOURS OF LABOR— 1866 AND 1867.

In February, 1866, the commission appointed by Governor Andrew, in accordance with a Resolve of the legislature of 1865 “to collect information and statistics in regard to the

hours of labor, and the conditions and prospects of the industrial classes," made their report, which was signed by the five commissioners previously named. We present a brief abstract of their report.

One thousand printed circulars were sent out, and eighty replies received. Thirty-nine out of 334 towns and cities responded. The education of children in manufacturing districts was first considered, and the commissioners said "a saddening amount of testimony has been brought before the commission concerning the frequent and gross violation" of the school law, which then required *eleven weeks'* schooling yearly for children from twelve to fifteen years of age, and *eighteen weeks* for children under twelve. The latter were not allowed to work more than *ten* hours per day. After expressing the fear that Massachusetts was in danger of "rushing into the same fearful condition in which England found her manufacturing districts years ago," they continue :—

"As our common-school system is so thoroughly established, and as all our manufacturing villages have, more or less, a mixed population, the children of merchants, mechanics and factory operatives attending the same school, it *may* be difficult (although the commission is not unanimous on that point) to adopt the half-time plan in detail; but we may secure a part, at least, of its beneficial results, by demanding the same amount of schooling, as now indicated in the statutes, every *six* months, instead of every *twelve* months, as now provided; thus doubling the amount of schooling, and lessening correspondently the amount of labor.

"But with the view of encouraging, as fast and as far as practicable, the 'half-time system,' we would have it provided that, in all cases where this system is adopted and carried out in good faith, the laws in the sections referred to shall not be considered binding.

"We suggest, also, that a suitable person or persons be appointed by the governor, and clothed with full power of inspection, whose duty shall be to *see that the laws* concerning this subject be faithfully obeyed, and to bring suits when they are violated. Such officers should report annually to the legislature the condition and wants of that class of children to which the law refers."

In considering the pecuniary value of healthy men, a man's worth to the State (wages earned) is put at \$27,000, and the point made that the State cannot afford to allow children to



labor in a way to impair health and shorten life. The pecuniary value of education is demonstrated, and the commissioners state their belief in the assertion that illiterate help *never yields proprietors a profit!*

After presenting some statistics concerning hours of labor, the commissioners say :—

“From this brief summary it appears that what is known as the ‘ten-hour system’ is generally adopted in mechanical employments, and that eleven hours is the general rule in cotton factories. The shortest time established by custom for a day’s labor is that adopted by the class of shipwrights engaged on ‘old work,’ seven hours forty minutes. The longest time is seventeen and one-half hours, adopted in a few bakeries.”

After considering testimony given relative to the evil results of such long hours of labor as are required in bakeries, they add :—

“If these statements can be relied on, the commission are of opinion that in no branch of industry that has been presented to their consideration is there greater need of reform than in this, which furnishes us with the staff of life; and they would express their hearty sympathy with the bakers in their efforts to lessen the hours of labor, hoping the needed change may soon be accomplished.”

The wages of women were next considered, but with no practical result, the information derived upon the subject being very meagre.

The commission, after presenting the arguments, *pro* and *con*, for a reduction of the hours of labor (touching, in their considerations, upon such points as province of law, law of usury, overwork,\* hasty meals, labor-saving machinery, eleva-

\* Every man has a certain amount of constitutional force. This is his vital capital, which must not be diminished. Out of this comes daily a certain and definite amount of available force, which he may expend in labor of muscle or brain, without drawing on his vital capital. He may, and he should, work every day, and expend so much force, and no more, that he shall awake the next morning, and every succeeding morning, until he shall be threescore and ten, and find in himself the same amount of available force, the same vital income, the same power to do his ordinary and healthy day’s work, and again lay down at night with his capital of life, his constitutional force, unimpaired.—*Letter to Commission from Edward Jarvis.*

tion of labor by the workingman himself), arrived at the following conclusion regarding an eight-hour law :—

“The Commission, therefore, are opposed to the adoption of an eight-hour law.

“1. Because they deem it unsound in principle to apply one measure of time to all kinds of labor.

“2. Because, if adopted as a general law, in the way proposed, it would be rendered void by special contracts, and so add another to the dead laws that cumber the statutes.

“3. Because a very large proportion of the industrial interests of the country *could not* observe it.

“4. Because, if restricted, as some propose, to the employés of the State, it would be manifestly *partial*, and, therefore, unjust.”

On the general subject of a reduction of hours, their opinion is given as follows :—

“The commission believe that the change desired can be better brought about by workingmen outside the state house, than by legislators inside.”

The report thus concludes :—

“It may be well for convenience of reference to bring together, in closing, the three distinct recommendations which the commission have ventured to make to your honorable body,—

“1. That a change be made in the statutes concerning the schooling and work of children in manufacturing districts, so as to give them twice the amount of schooling now required, or by adopting in full what is known as the ‘half-time system.’

“2. That an inspector, or inspectors, be appointed to attend to the enforcement of these laws, and also to look after the children put to apprenticeship, or otherwise bound to service by the State, to see that they are properly cared for according to the terms of indentures.

“3. That provision be made for the annual collection of reliable statistics, in regard to the condition, prospects and wants of the industrial classes.

“Respectfully submitted by

“WILLIAM P. TILDEN,

“HENRY I. BOWDITCH,

“F. B. SANBORN,

“ELIZUR WRIGHT,

“GEO. H. SNELLING,

“Commissioners.”

The commission on the hours of labor, appointed under chap. 92 of the Resolves of 1866, reported to Gov. Bullock, January 1, 1867. We will consider the majority report first. Some 450 circulars were sent out, but the statistics obtained were not deemed of great value. Speaking of the Act of 1866, chap. 273, which provides that "no child under ten years of age shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment within this Commonwealth," the commissioners say, "we know that there is a general, but, we are happy to say, not universal disregard" of the law. Eleven hours was found to be the rule in factories, and the commissioners remark thereon: "Eleven hours' toil each day for six days in each week is more than women and children ought to be required to perform."

The commissioners, after thoroughly weighing the testimony they had secured, presented the following recommendations to the governor:—

"1. That the Act of the last session, chapter 273, be so amended as to insure the execution of those provisions which forbid the employment of children between the ages of ten and fourteen, and provides for their attendance at school.

"2. That the employment of all persons under the age of eighteen years in factories, for more than ten hours each day, or sixty hours per week, be prohibited; and that one hour each day shall be allowed for dinner.

"3. That a special INSPECTOR OF LABOR be appointed, to see that all laws relating to the interests of the laboring classes are faithfully executed.

"4. That a Bureau of Statistics be established for the purpose of collecting and making available all facts relating to the industrial and social interests of the Commonwealth."

On the general question of reduction of hours of labor, the commissioners did not believe in law-making. They thought public sentiment should induce the employer to shorten the hours in certain trades, especially in the winter season. They argued strongly in favor of making the *hour* the unit of time in relation to labor, and suggested it might be well to enact that no contracts for labor not made upon the hour standard should be recognized in law.

In conclusion, the commissioners said,—

“The undersigned would respectfully represent to your Excellency that they cannot recommend the enactment of any law restricting the hours of labor for the *adult* population of the Commonwealth.

“AMASA WALKER.

“WILLIAM HYDE.”

Mr. Edward H. Rogers, in making his minority report, states his belief in three “truths,”—

“*First.* Manual labor is the divine training to energize the character.

“*Second.* The more hours men work in any staple branch of manufactures, the less they receive in the form of wages.

“*Third.* Labor is capital.”

One of the principal conclusions arrived at by the commissioner, is,—

“Human labor is so connected with exalted mental and moral capacities, that it of right ought to have higher consideration than merchandise.”

He closed his report as follows :—

“I recommend, as the result of my investigations, and in view of the expressed wish of the interest of labor in the factories, and, so far as ascertained, on the farms, the enactment of ten hours as a legal standard for a day’s labor—in the absence of contracts—for farm and factory work ; and a similar enactment of eight hours as a legal standard—in the absence of contracts—for mechanical labor.

“Respectfully submitted, by

“EDWARD H. ROGERS,

“*Commissioner on the Hours of Labor.*”

## V.—LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1869.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR.

Since 1866 no especial executive attention had been given to labor reform in any of its phases. The following Acts and Resolves were, however, passed by the legislature of 1869 :—

“Chap. 302, Acts of 1869, provides for cancelling the indentures of wards of the State in certain cases.

"Chap. 305, Acts of 1869, provides that towns and cities may maintain evening schools for those over twelve years of age.

"Chaps. 57 and 72, Resolves of 1869, appropriate fifty thousand dollars to the Worcester County Free Institute of Industrial Science, with a proviso for gratuitous instruction.

"Chap. 102, Resolve of 1869, provides for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics of Labor."

The full text of the Resolve establishing the bureau is given below :—

"RESOLVE providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Statistics on the subject of Labor.

"*Resolved*, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, is hereby authorized to appoint, as soon after the passage of this resolve as may be, and thereafter biennially in the month of May, some suitable person to act as chief, who shall have power to appoint a deputy, and said chief with his deputy shall constitute a bureau of statistics, with headquarters in the state house.

"The duties of such bureau shall be to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the legislature, on or before the first day of March in each year, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the Commonwealth, especially in its relations to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the Commonwealth.

"That said bureau shall have power to send for persons and papers, to examine witnesses under oath, and such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner, and paid the same fees as witnesses before the superior courts of the Commonwealth. The compensation of said bureau shall be twenty-five hundred dollars annual salary for the chief, and two thousand dollars annual salary for the deputy. And the governor is hereby authorized to draw his warrant for the payment of said sums, together with such office and traveling expenses of said bureau, as he with the council shall approve."

It is undoubtedly useless to try to explain the *immediate* reasons which led to the establishment of the bureau. The preceding commissions on the hours of labor had recommended such a bureau, but the matter had laid dormant for two years. The connection of the various labor elements with its passage is not obvious. The legislature had shown but little intention of legislating for labor. The eight-hour men had put in no petitions. The petitions (two in number) for a ten-hour law

had been referred to the next general court. The petitions of the Crispins for an Act of incorporation were referred to the committee on manufactures, and they granted leave to withdraw. A substitute bill in place of the report was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 5 to 22.

At this juncture, it has been stated, fears were entertained that the labor vote would be lost, and it was suggested it would be politic to grant some concession to labor. This may be true; if so, the legislature of 1869 created the bureau, and not the petitions and labors of the workingmen.

The petition of Wendell Phillips and others, relative to the hours of labor, was introduced in the House, February 6, and was referred to a joint special committee of seven from the House and three from the Senate. This committee did not report until June 9, and in the meantime the petitions of the Crispins and ten-hour men had been acted upon adversely. June 12, in the Senate, the Resolve creating the bureau was rejected on its passage to a third reading by a vote of 10 to 14. This vote was reconsidered on the 14th, the Resolve passed to a third reading, and, under suspension of the rules, to be engrossed. After being amended in the House, and again in the Senate, the Resolve finally passed and received the governor's approval, June 22.

The idea that the creation of the bureau was a matter of policy, may gain color from the legislative proceedings; but it should be remembered that the idea of such a bureau had been before the public for three years, and there could be no good reasons given for not having such a department. Again, the Resolve at first was loosely drawn, especially as regarded expenditures, and the House committee on finance thought it ought not to pass. That the financial objection was not a trivial one, is established by the fact that extra legislation as regarded expenses of the bureau became necessary in 1870. We do not presume to settle the question, whether or not the bureau was created from motives of policy; but there are many indications from the records of the time, that the public sentiment, if not particularly in favor of systematic investigation, was not against it. The bureau was simply to be a standing committee of investigation, and in establishing it, those

who voted for it committed themselves to no particular plan of labor reform.

Another argument that undoubtedly led in some measure to the establishment of the bureau was found in the reports of General H. K. Oliver, in relation to the education and employment of children in factories. The first report made by him on the subject was dated January, 1868 (Senate Document, No. 21). He reported no convictions under the so-called "school law," and pointed out nine points of feebleness therein which rendered it practically inoperative. As he said, *one* man could not be expected to visit *every* manufacturing establishment in the State, and only 19 per cent answered circulars sent to them. It could not be reasonably supposed that manufacturers would so fill out circulars as to criminate themselves. If the law had been a strong one, one man could have done much, for a conviction in one town would have had a salutary effect throughout the State. The important points gathered from circulars filled, showed that 151 out of 335 establishments employed children, 30 of which required more than 60 hours of labor from them each week. Thirty-eight evening schools for factory and other working children were in operation.

The second report made by General Oliver (Senate Document, No. 44, 1869) was, in spirit, a reproduction of that of 1868. The word "knowingly" in the statute was deemed the weakest point, and convictions were impossible, appeals and exceptions being necessarily allowed by the courts.

Although the parents and guardians were amenable to the law as well as employers, and although the word "knowingly" did not apply to them, no attempts were made to prosecute them. The report closed with a recommendation of the English half-time system, and a suggestion that matters relating to the education of working children be taken from the charge of the state constabulary, a police institution, and placed in the hands of the State Board of Education.

#### VI.—LABOR LEGISLATION FROM 1870 TO 1876.

The following forms part of Governor Claflin's inaugural address in 1870 :—

*“ The Labor Question.*

“The condition of labor demands our earnest attention. The skill and energy which produce the material results which we witness everywhere should not be overlooked or forgotten. Though favorably located for commerce and manufactures, our position would be valueless but for the untiring industry which makes use of these opportunities. Our future success in manufacturing depends upon the intelligence and faithfulness of our laborers.

“Public policy, then, would justify special care of all their interests on the part of the legislature. Accordingly, commissioners have examined the subject, and from their reports and suggestions have resulted laws intended for their benefit. It is to be hoped that whatever suggestions or requests may be made to you by this large class of our fellow-citizens, coming within the legitimate scope of legislation, may receive most careful and cordial consideration.”

Legislation was secured as follows :—

“Chap. 281, Acts of 1870.—Grand Lodge of the Knights of St. Crispin incorporated.

“Chap. 48, Resolves of 1870.—State Board of Health directed to ascertain rate of mortality among minors employed in the textile industries.

“Chap. 74, Resolves of 1870.—Pay of assistants in Bureau of Statistics of Labor defined.”

The only legislation having particular reference to the bureau was the passage of the following Resolve; its object was to fix the expenditures of the bureau by law, and thus remove a responsibility and unnecessary detail work from the governor and council.

“RESOLVE concerning the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

“*Resolved*, That the chief of the bureau of statistics of labor be and hereby is authorized to employ such assistants and incur such expense, not exceeding the sum of five thousand dollars, as may be necessary in the discharge of his official duties; said assistants to be paid in full for their services such compensation as the chief may deem just and equitable: *provided*, that no assistant be paid more than four dollars per day, in addition to his necessary travelling expenses.”



The eight-hour and ten-hour men were early in the field, and conducted the campaign of 1870 with earnestness. Forty-five petitions for a ten-hour law for women and children were presented in the House, and sixty-four in the Senate. After a hard and protracted parliamentary warfare, a bill was passed to be engrossed in the House by a vote of 133 to 67. This bill was refused a third reading in the Senate. Fifteen petitions for an eight-hour law, to apply to employés of the State, cities and towns, were presented in the House, and eight in the Senate. Such a bill was passed to be engrossed by the Senate, and rejected by the House on its passage to a third reading. Thus the two branches were quits, for each had blocked the other's action in precisely the same manner.

Four petitions were introduced in favor of a Resolve to establish "institutions for women," but no action was taken.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1871.

Governor Claffin incorporated the following remarks on the labor question in his address for 1871, and the matter was referred to the usual joint special committee of eleven, three from the Senate, and eight from the House.

#### *"The Labor Question."*

"As the guardians of the public welfare, you are called upon to do everything that legislation can properly effect to improve the physical, mental and moral condition of your constituents, especially of those whose daily toil contributes so largely to the prosperity of our vast manufacturing interests. To promote this end the Board of Health are actively pursuing their investigations into the sanitary condition of manufactories and the dwellings connected with them.

"The Bureau of Labor is also particularly charged to inquire into and secure the enforcement of laws in regard to the schooling of children, and to report on the general condition of the productive industry of the Commonwealth. In the last twenty years, legislation has been wise and efficient in behalf of this important interest, but there is still room for advance, and the time has now come to inquire whether the hours of labor in manufactories, established by law, may not be limited with great advantage to both employers and the employed. Of course this does not directly affect the question of wages, which cannot properly be determined by legislation. The

report of the Bureau of Labor, containing many interesting statistical statements, will soon be laid before you for your information."

Three Acts and one Resolve passed, as given below, had special reference to labor and laborers.

"Chap. 280, Acts of 1871.—Tenement or lodging-house Act provides for ventilation, fire-escapes, sewerage, etc., therein.

"Chap. 323, Acts of 1871.—Women's Economical Garden Homestead League incorporated.

"Chap. 324, Acts of 1871.—Boston Co-operative Building Company incorporated.

"Chap. 82, Resolves of 1871.—Bureau of Statistics of Labor directed to prepare a plan for a system of half-time schools."

The ten-hour law again received legislative attention. Twenty-two petitions for such a law were presented in the Senate and twenty-six in the House. A ten-hour bill was passed to a third reading in the House by a vote of 131 to 46, was amended and engrossed, 100 to 61. The Senate refused a third reading, 8 to 26.

The petitions for an eight-hour law, for employés of the State, cities and towns, numbered eight in the Senate, and eight in the House, but both branches referred them to the next general court.

Besides the above petitions, three were introduced in favor of "Garden Homesteads" for women, and one for a half-time school law for working children.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1872.

The newly elected Governor Washburn, in his address, considered at length the growing and ever-recurring problem of—

#### *"The Labor Question."*

"I commend to your candid and cordial consideration the varied interests of those who are denominated the laboring portion of our citizens. The question of practical concern is not so much whether the condition of this class is better or worse here than in other sections of the country, as whether that condition is satisfactory, whether it is what it might be made by honest and resolute endeavor, what it should be made by those who have the well-being of the Commonwealth deeply at heart. To this question I am sure no one will

venture an affirmative reply. Neither is it of paramount importance to determine whether the situation of this large body of persons is better or worse than it was formerly. Our view should be forward, and not backward.

"Many seem to hold the opinion that if the workingmen and workingwomen, as they are commonly designated, receive constant employment and are adequately remunerated; if they gain the needful bread and meat in exchange for their labor; if they have comfortable homes and enough for the decent support of themselves and their families, it is their duty to be therewith content. But this is a narrow judgment of the matter in issue. They ought not only to perform their daily tasks faithfully, but be so circumstanced that they will perform them cheerfully. In so far as lies within our power, we ought to remove every just cause of complaint. Every human being should have higher and nobler aspirations than merely to provide food and clothing for the body. This should never content him. The head of a family ought to have time for study, thought, reading, recreation, innocent pleasure; he properly desires to give his children a better education than he had, and furnish them advantages superior to those he himself enjoyed.

"The fact that there is unrest and dissatisfaction when man is confined to unremitting toil, is one of the brightest and most healthy omens of the times. It is an indication that his better nature is struggling for emancipation; it is a hopeful sign of finer and nobler manhood in the future. Such efforts for improvement should never be discouraged, but always encouraged. That there ever have been and ever will be grades of society, is true enough; the statesman should seek to diminish the distance between the extremes by elevating the lower. It has been said that as soon as the materials for the construction of society were brought together they proceeded forthwith to arrange themselves in layers,—the stronger, more nimble and more cunning of the living constituents climbing to the higher places, and forcing upon those below the office of upholding them in their elevation. As the pyramid was originally built, so it remains in its general design. Within the heaving mass of multitudinous life, individual atoms are constantly changing places, but without destroying, however much disturbing, the primitive distribution into layers. These are still disposed, one above the other, in a gradually diminishing series. It is so natural to feel that what always has been must always be, that we are too apt to content ourselves with things as we find them. But this is the dictate neither of wisdom nor of prudence. Standing still is not the province of society; it must either advance or retrograde. Especially, under such a government as ours, is change almost a normal

condition and an inherent necessity. The pyramid continues to uplift itself as an entirety; but atoms in the bottom layer of to-day may be in the top layer of to-morrow. Hence one reason why it becomes us to fairly and honestly examine the condition of the laboring classes, upon whom the whole superstructure of the social organism rests. Because they are a part of ourselves, it devolves upon us to relieve them, as far as possible, from the grievances to which they are subjected. Their existence is not separate from the existence of the State; what tends to their welfare is calculated to promote the general welfare; in the last analysis their interest is identical with the interest of the upper classes; the least addition to their comfort is a gain to the whole community, and if their case is considered in the right spirit there is no good cause for antagonistic feeling. The question raised by them, and in their behalf, can never be adjusted by the two extremes,—those anxious to secure the greatest possible amount of pay for the least possible work, and those anxious to obtain the greatest possible amount of work for the least possible pay. Nor will relief come with the determination how many hours shall constitute a legal day's work. For no period can be fixed which should be applicable alike to all. The ingenious skilled laborer, who uses mind as well as muscle, cannot apply himself the same number of hours to his task as he who merely handles the hoe or shovel, holds the plough or drives the oxen, uses the trowel or weaves at the loom. The great desideratum is to determine what would be a fair division of profits between the employer and the employé. Settle the question as to compensation per hour, and there will be no serious difficulty about the number of hours.

“Let us not expect to adjust the issue confronting us by lecturing the laboring classes. We must be willing to meet them on their own ground, and discuss the matter at stake from their point of view. We must not only believe in the necessity, but have faith in the practicability of cultivating the soil. Plough it thoroughly, enrich it as may be necessary, prepare it to the utmost for an abundant crop. However barren it may appear to superficial observation, it is capable of almost indefinite improvement. I commend to your earnest attention the results which may be wrought out by the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. I doubt not you will welcome any and every fact tending to throw light upon the solution of this great labor problem. A subject so vital to the Commonwealth as the question whether the daily life of a majority of its citizens can be enlarged and improved must not be ignored, and should receive no secondary consideration at your hands.”

The secured legislation is summarized below :—

“ Chap. 86, Acts of 1872.—An Act authorizing cities and towns to establish industrial schools.

“ Chap. 281, Acts of 1872.—An Act amending the statutes in relation to imprisonment of poor debtors.

“ Chap. 318, Acts of 1872.—An Act extending the provisions of the lien law.

“ Chap. 348, Acts of 1872.—An Act to secure cheap morning and evening trains on railways for the use of workingmen.”

The bureau report in relation to depositors in savings banks provoked much discussion. The matter was referred to the committee on banks and banking, and they reported a Resolve declaring the disbelief of the legislature in the figures given by the bureau. The Resolve was defeated in the House, 69 to 72. A motion was also made in the House to abolish the bureau on the first of September, 1872, but the bureau was sustained, 103 to 71.

The petitions for a ten-hour law were few. A bill was introduced, passed by the House, and rejected by the Senate. The eight-hour petitioners, again, were allowed to withdraw.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1873.

Governor Washburn, in his second address, manifested his belief in the importance of the labor movement by a lengthy consideration of the subject.

“ Three annual reports by the Bureau of Statistics of Labor have been laid before the public, and the fourth will be submitted to you in due time. Those who were most instrumental in the creation of this bureau generally admit that it has not fulfilled their expectations. Nearly every branch of the labor movement has openly and decidedly expressed dissatisfaction with its methods and its results, and I am not aware that capitalists and employers have expressed any particular gratification therewith. What course shall be pursued in reference to this department is a question that challenges your careful and thoughtful deliberation.

“ While it may be confessed that the investigations of the bureau have not been so thorough and complete as to commend its conclusions to universal assent, it must be borne in mind that its reports contain our only official statements on the subjects of which they treat, and have been printed and circulated by public authority.

They are referred to now, and will be referred to hereafter, by those seeking information as to the social condition of Massachusetts. They have been cited, and will again be cited, in the debates of Congress upon measures proposed for the protection and enlargement of our industries, as showing how the benefits of such protection are distributed. If they give a false or partial picture of the relations of labor to capital in our Commonwealth, the remedy for complaint on this head must be sought, not in discontinuing the investigation upon which we have entered, but in lifting it to a higher and broader level, making it more thorough, and conducting it with larger aims.

“Whether a laborer can accomplish as much in one hour as he can in two, whether the machinery in a well-managed factory can turn out as many yards of cloth in eight hours as in ten,—these problems the Massachusetts Yankee may safely be left to solve for himself without official aid or prompting. But we ought approximately to know, for instance, how many grown persons there are in the State, not prevented from labor by vice, indolence or physical infirmity, who cannot procure comfortable homes for themselves and their dependents, fair education for their children, adequate provision for sickness and old age, and sufficient leisure for the comprehension and discharge of the duties of citizenship. The incapacity to procure this is poverty. We ought to know whether the proportion of such persons is increasing or diminishing; whether our legislation hastens or can be made to hasten the decrease or counteract the increase. If there is carried on in the State any business so unremunerative that it will not permit the employers to pay those employed such wages as are necessary to keep them from poverty, however desirable that business may be, it ought to cease. And surely we ought to know, if it be possible to ascertain, whether there are really among us employers who are laying up great riches for themselves by keeping their employés in a condition of impoverished dependence.

“In order to secure statistical information on these and other related issues, different instrumentalities from those now in use will be required. A schedule should be carefully prepared by the legislature, with the aid of competent assistance, indicating the facts desired from every city and town in the Commonwealth. In the small towns these facts might be gathered by the assessors; in the larger towns, under the direction and superintendence of the selectmen; and in the cities, by wards, through appointees of the mayor and aldermen. Special returns should also be required from all savings banks and such other institutions as can throw light on the general inquiry. Statistics from a few scattered points or isolated

establishments will not suffice; they must be comprehensive or the conclusions founded on them will be valueless and misleading. There may be objections to the plan thus suggested for solving the difficulty in which we now find ourselves. If your honorable bodies will present a better one, I shall be most happy to join you in its adoption. But in my judgment, neither the well-being of our people nor the good name of our State will permit us to rest in non-action. The relations of capital and labor, of employer and employés,—these are issues that will not down at any man's bidding. The questions are among the gravest and most vital of the time; they cannot be thrust aside; they will be heard; they must be discussed; they justly insist upon a practical answer."

The three matters of legislation following had special reference to the bureau:—

"Chap. 377, Acts of 1873.

"SECT. 5. The salary of the chief of the bureau of statistics on the subject of labor, shall be at the rate of three thousand dollars per annum."

"Chap. 63, Resolves of 1873.—Resolve in relation to the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

"*Resolved*, That so much of chapter one hundred and two of the resolves of the year eighteen hundred and sixty-nine, as requires the bureau of statistics on the subject of labor to have its headquarters in the state house, is repealed."

"Chap. 66, Resolves of 1873.—Resolve relative to the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

"*Resolved*, That in addition to the sum of five thousand dollars heretofore appropriated for the purposes of expenses and clerical services of the bureau of statistics of labor, there be allowed and paid out of the treasury the further sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, which sum is hereby appropriated."

An order was also passed directing that the reports of the bureau be numbered and classified among the public documents.

Other secured legislation is comprehended in the succeeding statement.

"Chaps. 262 and 279, Acts of 1873.—Acts to secure the attendance of children at school. (Twenty weeks for children between eight and twelve.)

"Chap. 306, Acts of 1873.—An Act authorizing towns to pay such sums as they see fit towards maintaining public libraries.

"Chap. 6, Resolves of 1873.—A Resolve appropriating fifteen thousand dollars to represent the industries and educational system of the State at the Vienna Exposition."

Labor matters occupied much of the time of the legislature of 1873. A change in the officers of the bureau was called for, and rumors of abolishment seemed likely to end in fact. Thirty-three petitions against abolishment were put in, many praying for increased powers and appropriations. Two memorials against abolishment were received from Pennsylvania, one from the American Statistical Society, and the Society of Internationalists in Boston filed a remonstrance. The officers for the next term of two years were new men, and the vexed question was dropped.

A ten-hour bill for women and children was passed in the House, and rejected by the Senate. Both branches again gave the eight-hour petitioners leave to withdraw.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION IN 1874.

Governor Washburn's state papers upon the question of labor had attracted much attention during the past two years, and his address for 1874 gave the subject more prominence than ever. He said, regarding—

#### *"Labor Reform.*

"The annual report to be presented for your consideration in due season by the Labor Bureau, will indicate what has been done by the present organization during the past six months. Of course no very elaborate investigations can be undertaken and completed in that space of time. But you will have a right to inquire whether an honest endeavor has been made to obtain information that will aid in determining what measures are necessary to elevate and improve the condition of the great mass of laboring men and women in this Commonwealth. The bureau should not be continued, in order to furnish a desired position or coveted salary to this or that individual. When it ceases to collect facts and statistics calculated to assist statesmen in working out the problem of industrial reform, its usefulness will be at an end, and it should be discontinued or radically changed in management. Nor should it be run in order to further some pet scheme of this theorist or that mere enthusiast. Its object should be to deal with statistics, to keep back nothing, to cover up nothing, to present no one-sided picture, but as far as possible



to collect all the facts, and leave them to speak for themselves. And when the investigation is made so broad and comprehensive, that it will be impossible to gainsay the conclusion, I do not doubt that every sensible man will see the necessity for steps to better the situation of the laboring classes.

“A hasty glance at the condition of the children of these classes in many of our large manufacturing communities, is sufficient to convince the most sceptical that important changes are imperatively demanded as soon as they can be brought about. The assumption of our laws is, that the highest intelligence is the highest good of the entire people. Ignorance is dwarfing to the individual, and dangerous to society. It is wiser economy to sustain the common school than the reform school, the normal school than the house of correction, the college than the penitentiary. The State assumes that the physical, mental and moral treasures embraced in what we call childhood, are so much capital belonging to the community as well as to the parents. And it has been well said that the State undertakes to provide for, invest, develop and look after this childhood treasure, in such a way that it shall pay the highest dividends to the Commonwealth. No distinction of outward condition, whether it be of wealth or poverty, of birth or race, can be allowed to interfere with the purpose of the State. She claims the right and responsibility of providing a good common-school education for every child within her borders, at the public expense. She starts them all upon the highway toward useful and honorable manhood and womanhood. That she advances and maintains this theory is one of the crowning honors of our good Commonwealth.

“In the first communication which I had the honor to make to the legislature of the State, I presented figures showing that nearly all our children were attending a school of some sort. But a closer and more thorough investigation reveals a state of things that I did not then suppose existed. I find many thousand children in our crowded cities and manufacturing establishments, who never enter a school-room, and are growing up without even the rudiments of what we call education. The number of this class seems to be increasing yearly, not because of a change for the worse in public sentiment, but because the facts of the case have not been sufficiently well understood in any quarter.

“The blame for the deplorable condition of things that really exists in our manufacturing establishments, is often quite as much with the employés as with the employers. Families frequently move to manufacturing localities for the express purpose of obtaining employment for children. The anxiety of parents to reap the fruits of the constant labor of their children is so great, that they are

quite willing to neglect all provision for their mental or moral culture. I do not doubt the wisdom of the statute which requires children between the ages of five and fifteen years to be kept in school, and I know how indispensable pure air and out-door exercise are to their health and development, yet there is no inconsiderable number of parents whose necessities seem to compel them to seek employment in mills and manufactories for every member of their families who is able to work. The struggle for existence is such that they cannot stop to inquire whether the impure air and long confinement of these establishments are conducive to the health and vigorous growth of boys and girls.

"Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the English system of half-time is worthy of imitation. If we could provide that no boy or girl under fifteen years of age should be employed in any mill or manufactory for more than half the time, and then make provision that the other half should be spent in school, and at out-door sports and exercise, we should institute a change rich in promise of reform and deserving of fair and impartial trial.

"Though a statute provision fixing the number of hours that operatives shall be required to work never has appeared to me of such vital importance as some consider it, yet I freely admit that there is one aspect of the matter which seems to entitle the question of enacting such a statute to careful consideration.

"While as a general proposition it may be desirable to leave employers and employés free to agree upon prices and hours of labor, yet the State cannot afford to be utterly regardless of the health and social well-being of a large class of its citizens for fear of interfering with some established custom or some prevailing system. That the strength of the operatives in many of our mills is becoming exhausted, that they are growing prematurely old, and that they are losing the vitality requisite to the healthy enjoyment of social opportunity, are facts that no careful and candid observer will deny. Ten hours is the standard of the longest day's work known to any branch of mechanical industry in this Commonwealth outside a portion of our large manufacturing corporations. What would be lost to employers, and what would not be gained to employés, by adopting the ten-hour system in these establishments?

"Furthermore, the large majority of operatives in many of our mills are of foreign birth. What is to be done with them? How are we to protect ourselves from the ignorance that is generally their misfortune rather than their fault? How are we to educate them into unity of aspiration and purpose with native-born citizens? Shall we work them so many hours a day that they will have neither strength, interest nor time for becoming acquainted with our insti-

tutions and our aims as a people? Or shall we, by shortening their hours of labor, and the establishment of evening schools, if need be, educate them, fit them for the duties of citizenship, and make them a part of ourselves? Unless something of this sort is done, while the census returns may show accumulation and enlargement, there can be no increase of living power. If we are to have in the future a healthful growth of the body politic, all these different elements of population must be blended into one harmonious whole. This will be a work of time and patience, I very well know, but we cannot go on indefinitely without some broader and deeper consideration than we have yet given, as a community, to the well-being of those among us from foreign parts.

"The limit of a day's work to three-fourths of the laboring class in this Commonwealth being ten hours, I am not able to see that any great detriment would result if the same limit should be extended to the other fourth. I have no hesitancy in recommending that the experiment be tried, and you may anticipate executive approval if you enact a ten-hour law. I know of no reason why it should not apply as well to male as to female operatives. Much is said about the importance of elevating labor; but it is difficult to see how this can be done, except as we elevate the laboring man and woman. Make better provision for their instruction, assist them in the development of the higher faculties of their natures, encourage them to secure comfortable homes of their own, and you awaken capabilities that have hitherto slumbered, and give them enlarged hopes and brighter aspirations for the future. Every new homestead will inspire its occupant with new energy. It will bring him to a personal interest in the government of which he is a member, and make of him a stronger and worthier citizen in every respect. Indeed, there is very little worth in a man if the ownership of home does not stimulate him in a thousand honorable and ennobling ways. He who has been actively instrumental in lifting one deserving family into this new sphere, has done better service to the laboring class than the noisy, frothy demagogue will do in a lifetime.

"It is a requirement of the constitution that the census of the State shall be taken in 1875. This affords an opportunity that we ought neither to neglect nor misuse. Along with legislation for giving effect to the census requirement, I hope provision will be made for as searching an inquiry by the Labor Bureau as is practicable, into the social condition of our working classes. An honest and thorough investigation, conducted in a manner to command confidence, would enable us to see ourselves as we really are, much more clearly than we now can, and furnish the data on which to

base action for the future prosperity and progress of the old Commonwealth."

The following Resolve had particular relation to the bureau work :—

" Chap. 62, Resolves of 1874.—Resolve concerning the Education of children employed in manufacturing establishments.

*" Resolved*, That the bureau of statistics on the subject of labor is directed to prepare a plan for the education of children employed in manufacturing establishments, and report the same to the next general court with the next annual report of said bureau."

Additional labor legislation is given below. The text of the Act in relation to the census and industrial statistics will be found in its proper section in this volume.

" Chap. 221, Acts of 1874.—An Act establishing the hours of labor at sixty per week for women, and children under eighteen years of age.

" SECT. 1. No minor under the age of eighteen years, and no woman over that age, shall be employed in laboring by any person, firm or corporation in any manufacturing establishment in this Commonwealth more than ten hours in any one day, except when it is necessary to make repairs to prevent the stoppage or interruption of the ordinary running of the machinery : *provided, however*, that a different apportionment of the hours of labor may be made for the sole purpose of giving a shorter day's work for one day of the week ; but in no case shall the hours of labor exceed sixty per week.

" SECT. 2. Any such person, firm or corporation which wilfully employs any minor or woman, or which wilfully has in its employment any minor or woman contrary to the provisions of this act, and any superintendent, overseer or other agent of any such person, firm or corporation, who wilfully employs any minor or woman in laboring for any such person, firm or corporation, and any parent or guardian of such minor who permits such minor to work or be so employed contrary to the provisions of this act, shall, for each offence, be punished by a fine not exceeding fifty dollars, to be recovered on complaint in any court of competent jurisdiction, and all prosecutions for offences under this act shall be begun within one year from the commission thereof. No building or premises used solely for the purposes of a dwelling shall be deemed a manufacturing establishment within the meaning of this act.

" SECT. 3. This act shall take effect upon the first day of October next.

" Chap. 279, Acts of 1874.—An Act preventing the appearance of children under fifteen as acrobats, contortionists, etc.

" Chap. 386, Acts of 1874.—An Act to provide for taking the industrial statistics and decennial census of the Commonwealth.

"Chap. 393, Acts of 1874.—An Act regulating deposits in savings banks."

As has been indicated, a ten-hour law for women and children was passed, but only after determined and long-continued opposition. The various drafts of the bill were in turn referred to the judiciary committee, the attorney-general, and to a conference committee. Several remonstrances *against* a ten-hour law were presented. At one stage the president of the Senate, by his casting vote, secured the enactment of the bill. The vote, however, was reconsidered, and but for a rule prohibiting amendments of engrossed bills, would have been amended; as it was, it was recommitted. The final vote in the Senate was 21 to 11. The only yea and nay vote of the House, in the early stages of the bill, was 111 to 19. But for the election of Governor Washburn to the United States Senate, his name would have appeared officially upon the law.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION OF 1875.

Governor Gaston, in his address, thus referred to labor matters:—

"I earnestly commend to your careful consideration this great subject of skilled labor. It is of vital interest to a manufacturing people, and I trust that your fostering care of it will be apparent in such legislation as may promote the welfare and renown of our Commonwealth and country. The Act of 1867, chapter 285, provides that no child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, and no child between the ages of ten and fifteen years shall be so employed, unless he has attended school for three months in the year next preceding such employment, nor unless he shall attend school at least three months in each year during the continuance of such employment.

"The Act of 1874, chapter 221, provides that no minor under the age of eighteen years, and no woman over that age, shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment more than ten hours in any one day, or sixty hours in any week.

"These two Acts affect deeply the welfare of the Commonwealth. They both have my cordial approval. To carry out the spirit of such legislation, the education of the operatives in Massachusetts should receive the thoughtful consideration of the legislature. For persons so employed, half-time schools, which have been introduced

with great success into both the manufacturing and agricultural districts of Great Britain, seem to me the best expedient. The problem has already been presented,—whether in a public school, instruction in practical pursuits which may enable, or assist in enabling, the pupil to earn a livelihood in early years, should not be joined with the customary tuition. In manufacturing communities, this form of instruction cannot be properly or safely neglected. The necessities of the pupil and the public interests alike demand that those whose inheritance is that of labor, shall have both the time and opportunity for instruction, and for a kind of instruction which shall give to labor intelligence, and consequently increased value and compensation. Half-time schools have, in some cases, divided the hours of the day between instruction and labor; others have taken entire days for each; while others, again, preserving the alternations, have taken entire periods, consisting of several weeks, for each. The selection between these plans may be influenced by the kind of industry in which persons are engaged. As a general rule, the evidence of experience is in favor of the division of each day. It is shown by those engaged in instruction, that half-time scholars, as a rule, are quite equal in average attainments to those who have full school hours without the alternations of work.

“A. Resolve of 1874, chapter 62, directs the Labor Bureau to prepare a plan for the education of the children employed in manufacturing establishments, and report the same to this general court. I commend the whole subject to your thoughtful consideration. That system which shall give to labor the time and opportunity for education and culture, will never injure the moral or material interests of a people, or withdraw from wealth or capital any of its rightful possessions.”

Other legislation relating to labor or the bureau work is hereinafter summarized. The text of the Act and Resolve relating to the census and industrial statistics will be found in the proper section of this volume.

“Chap. 93, Acts of 1875.—An Act respecting the taking of the decennial census in Boston and other cities.

“Chap. 211, Acts of 1875.—An Act to regulate special contracts for labor.

“SECT. 1. Any manufacturing establishment which shall require from an employé a notice of intention to leave the employment of such establishment, under penalty of forfeiture of any part of wages earned, shall be liable to the payment of a like forfeiture if they shall discharge an employé without notice, except for incapacity or misconduct: *provided, however,* that this act

shall not apply in case of a general suspension of labor in said establishments.

"SECT. 2. Whoever shall, by intimidation or force, prevent, or seek to prevent, any other person or persons from entering or continuing in the employment of any corporation, company or individual, shall be punished therefor by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.

"SECT. 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

"Chap. 37, Resolves of 1875.—Resolve providing compensation for taking the census and industrial statistics.

"Chap. 71, Resolves of 1875.—Resolve appropriating fifty thousand dollars to represent the arts, institutions and industries of the Commonwealth at the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia."

The ten-hour agitation had not been quieted entirely by the passage of the law of 1874. Several petitions were presented praying for a modification of the law. Others remonstrated against the repeal of any of its provisions. Both branches granted leave for petitioners to withdraw.

Although the bureau, acting under the law of 1874, had prepared the schedule of inquiries for the census and industrial statistics, had appointed enumerators, and had its special work under full headway, a motion was made to abolish the bureau, and turn its work over to the secretary of the Commonwealth. This ill-advised proposition, if successful, would have necessitated a great waste of time and money, and undoubtedly would have destroyed the comprehensiveness of the work, for the secretary would have either been obliged to follow blindly the plans of others, or arrange his own in a very limited time. The friends of the bureau rallied with petitions and remonstrances; the uselessness of the change was clearly shown at hearings and by the press; the House vote sustaining the bureau was decisive, 134 to 36.

Reference has been made to the reports of General H. K. Oliver, when special state constable, to enforce the school law for children in manufactories. After his appointment to another official position, another constable was detailed, in August, 1869, but he made no report of progress. The police commission of 1871 gave general instructions to constables to enforce the law, but warned them against incurring any expense unless possessing positive information, thus rendering the law a dead-letter, practically. Upon the abolish-

ment of the police commission, a chief constable was appointed, and he, August 8, 1874, detailed George E. McNeill, Esq., of Cambridge, to carry into execution the laws relating to working children.

His report was made to the governor, January 11, 1875 (Senate Document, No. 50). Like the reports of Gen. Oliver, it was devoted to comments upon the weakness of the law, the impossibility of one man performing the work, and personal suggestions of needed legislation. He recommended that the school age be changed from five to fifteen to five to eighteen, although he stated his belief that 60,000 children from five to fifteen were growing up in ignorance, without any schooling whatever. Mr. McNeill also recommended registration of all children of school age, the English factory system in all its minutiae, the English half-time school system, and an inspector with three deputies to enforce the above-named laws when passed. The bureau reported in March, as required by the legislature of 1874, upon the subject of half-time schools, taking strong ground against their establishment in this State. Speaking of the education and employment of young persons, the report says :—

“ Personally, we believe in the extremest legislation in this direction, and could we have the power given us, we would not allow a girl under sixteen years of age to be employed in any kind of a factory or workshop. If she could be free until she reached the age of twenty, mankind would be the gainer.”

The argument against the establishment of half-time schools thus concludes :—

“ In the statements which follow we have summarized our chief points of belief in the whole matter, and our reasons therefor ; and the recommendations annexed we believe to be expedient as well as wise ; and that they will tend to lay a *permanent* foundation for our future welfare.

“ We believe that, generally speaking, the period of childhood and youth should be a period of free and unrestricted physical growth, that the bodily man and womanhood may be vigorous and vital. We believe that this is peculiarly essential in this country, where life is so intense, and so many accomplishments are crowded into every year of adult life.



"We believe, also, that the period of childhood and youth should be a period of mental and moral discipline and education, that the adult may not have to contend blindly and at great disadvantage with the forces of nature, and be subject constantly to the depredations of his fellow-men.

"We believe, in short, that children should have no legal status as workers, but only as pupils; and, above all, that the poverty of parents should not be allowed to foster the one condition or frustrate the other, inasmuch as it is unwise for the State to permit the future usefulness of its citizens to be jeopardized by causes within its control.

"We believe that the opportunities for education should be the same for *all* the children in the State; and that a special and necessarily poorer class of schools should not be established for the children of the poor. We believe this, because it would be a direct blow at the democratic foundations on which our governmental structure rests.

"And in answer to the Resolve of the legislature, we would recommend that our laws be so revised as to provide compulsorily for the attendance of all children between the ages of five and fifteen (not in attendance upon any private school) in the public schools for as long a time each year as they are kept in operation. And for the general accomplishment of this, that the state or local authorities be required to investigate and relieve, to such extent as is necessary, all cases of absolute and unavoidable individual poverty, which would otherwise prevent compliance with this obligation."

The report continued,—

"We present below the outline of a bill which we would offer as our conception of the proper 'plan' to be adopted.

"If any consider it impracticable, we have only to say that it does not go as far as the laws of some European countries, and seems to us absolutely necessary, if we expect to bring Massachusetts up to the same plane of nearly universal education which they occupy.

"SECT. 1. On and after the first day of September next, no child under the age of twelve years shall be employed in any factory, workshop or establishment where the manufacture or sale of any species of goods whatsoever is carried on; and after the first day of September, eighteen hundred and seventy-six, no child under the age of thirteen years shall be so employed; and after the first day of September, eighteen hundred and seventy-seven, no child under the age of fourteen years shall be so employed; and

after the first day of September, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, no child under the age of fifteen years shall be so employed: *provided*, that children of the age of twelve years, and under the age of fifteen years, may be employed until the first day of September, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, during such times as the schools of their respective towns or cities are not in operation, or for a certain portion of each year, until the aforesaid first day of September, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, as permitted in the following section.

"SECT. 2. No child of the age of twelve years, or who has not reached the age of fifteen years, shall be employed in any factory, workshop or establishment where the manufacture or sale of any species of goods whatsoever is carried on, unless, within the twelve months immediately preceding the beginning of such employment, and during each succeeding period of twelve months of such employment, such child shall have attended the public day schools of the town or city wherein his parents or guardians reside, for at least twenty weeks of five days in a week, which time may be divided into two terms, each of ten consecutive weeks, so far as the arrangements of school terms will allow, or for forty weeks of five half-days in a week so divided: *provided*, that attendance for the same number of days or half-days, consecutively, upon any private school approved by the school board, shall be considered an equivalent; and no manufacturer, merchant or other employer shall employ any child unless such child shall have presented a certificate, signed by the superintendent of schools, or by the school board, certifying that such child has complied with the requirements of this act.

"This section shall be construed to render permissible the employment of children of the ages named, only until September first, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, and shall be null and void on and after that date.

"SECT. 3. It shall be the duty of the truant officers, in all cases where poverty apparently prevents the attendance at school of any child, to report the same, within ten days after the beginning of each term, to the overseers of the poor, who shall, within ten days thereafter, if, on investigation, a sufficient degree of poverty be clearly apparent, provide, at the expense of the town or city, relief from such poverty to the extent necessary to secure the attendance of such child at school.

All truant officers and boards of overseers of the poor who fail to comply with this section shall be subject to a fine of not more than           dollars, and not less than           dollars, in the case of each child; and every manufacturer, merchant or employer, who employs any child contrary to the provisions of this act, and every parent or guardian who permits such employment, shall be subject to a fine of not more than           dollars, and not less than           dollars, in the case of each child. Justices of police or district courts, trial justices, trial justices of juvenile offenders and judges of probate shall have jurisdiction within their respective counties of the offences described in this act.

"SECT. 4. All fines collected under this act shall accrue to the benefit of the school fund of the town or city."

The bureau took ground, also, against the introduction of the ponderous factory system of England into Massachusetts, but suggested the outline of a—

*" Factory Act.*

" The belting, exposed shafting, gearing and drums of all manufacturing establishments shall be securely guarded.

" No machinery, other than steam-engines, in any such establishment shall be cleaned while running.

" Elevators in all such establishments shall be supplied with well-protected safety-catches and self-closing hatches.

" For every one hundred feet, ends and sides of such establishments, and to each story, there shall be on the outside a fenced platform, each platform to be connected with the one above it by a slanting ladder guarded by rails, and with the interior by windows or doors.

" For every twenty persons employed there shall be one rope, or portable fire-escape. All outside doors shall open outwardly or slide.

" Each story shall be supplied with apparatus for extinguishing fires,—water-buckets, flooding hose or pipes, hydrants, etc.

" All male operatives shall be organized into fire-parties, and trained to the use of the fire apparatus of the establishment.

" No person shall be constantly employed in the attic rooms of such establishments, unless such rooms are thoroughly protected by suitable fire-escapes, as herein provided ; ' story ' shall comprehend ' attic.'

" It shall be the duty of employers to see that rooms are amply ventilated and kept clean ; that water-closets are thoroughly cared for, and that noxious odors are deodorized.

" No married woman shall be employed in any such establishment for at least two months subsequent to the period of confinement ; and on returning to work shall, to this end, present a physician's certificate to her employer.

" Any person violating any of the provisions of this act shall forfeit for every such offence not less than twenty nor more than one hundred dollars.

" For the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, the governor, by and with the consent of the council, shall, on the passage of this act, and thereafter, biennially, in January, appoint a suitable person having practical knowledge of sanitary matters and of mechanics as chief inspector of factories ; and such chief inspector shall appoint not less than three nor more than seven deputy inspectors. The salary of the chief inspector shall be \$3,000, and that of his deputies \$2,000.

" The duties of the chief inspector shall be to enforce the provisions of this act, and of any acts relating to the employment and

education of children; and he shall report to the governor annually, in January, all proceedings and doings under the same.

"No action at law shall be brought against any manufacturer until after due notice to him of the breach of any of the provisions of this or the employment and education acts; and all actions under any of said acts shall be brought in the district courts, or before trial justices who shall have plenary jurisdiction."

The legislature took no action upon the half-time or compulsory education questions, and indefinitely postponed the subjects of a factory Act and the appointment of inspectors.

#### LABOR LEGISLATION OF 1876.

Gov. Rice, in his inaugural, thus referred to the—

##### *"Bureau of Statistics.*

"The sixth annual report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor (1875) contains in its introduction the following suggestions and recommendations: 'If it is desirable to continue investigations regarding labor, commerce, the industrial, social, sanitary and educational conditions of life in all respects, then the organic law under which the bureau works should be broadened, and power adequate to its desired usefulness be given to it.' The great utility of a department of statistics is readily comprehended, and the success of the decennial work of 1875 furnishes new evidence of the need of a thoroughly organized department.

"The difficulty in our method in this State, at present, arises from the existence of so many offices, each seeking statistics of various kinds, and each making investigations of subjects often akin in nature and resulting in twofold work. I am led to believe that if the kindred work of several of these bureaus were consolidated into one general bureau of statistics, and put under one head, it would result in increased efficiency, and considerably diminish the expense as compared with that of separate organization."

A bill to increase the scope of the bureau's work in accordance with the governor's suggestions, was reported in the House by the committee on the bureau, although they had been previously ordered by a vote of the House to consider the expediency of abolishing the bureau, and transferring its work to the Secretary of State. A Resolve to abolish was substituted in the House for the committee's bill, and by three close votes (the last one 113 to 99) was passed

to be engrossed. The Resolve for abolishment found little favor in the Senate, it being rejected by a vote of 26 to 4.

The secured legislation, to date, is found below :—

[Chap. 52, Acts of 1876.]

"AN ACT relating to the Employment of Children, and regulations respecting them.

"SECT. 1. No child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment in this Commonwealth, and any parent or guardian who permits such employment, shall for such offence forfeit a sum of not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars, for the use of the public schools of the city or town.

"SECT. 2. No child under the age of fourteen years shall be so employed, unless during the year next preceding such employment he has attended some public or private day school, under teachers approved by the school committee of the place where such school is kept, at least twenty weeks, which time may be divided into two terms, each of ten consecutive weeks, so far as the arrangements of school terms will allow ; nor shall such employment continue, unless such child shall attend school as herein provided, in each and every year ; and no child shall be so employed who does not present a certificate, made by or under the direction of said school committee, of his compliance with the requirements of this act : *provided, however*, that a regular attendance during the continuance of such employment in any school known as a half-time day school, or an attendance in any public or private day school, twenty weeks, as above stated, may be accepted by said school committee as a substitute for the attendance herein required.

"SECT. 3. Every owner, superintendent or overseer in any establishment above named, who employs or permits to be employed, any child in violation of the second section of this act, and every parent or guardian who permits such employment, shall for such offence forfeit a sum not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars for the use of the public schools of such city or town.

"SECT. 4. The truant officers shall, at least once in every school term, and as often as the school committee require, visit the establishments described by this act in their several cities and towns, and inquire into the situation of the children employed therein, ascertain whether the provisions of this act are duly observed, and report all violations to the school committee.

"SECT. 5. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

Chapter 142, Acts of 1876, incorporates the Massachusetts Family Bank, upon insurance principles earnestly advocated by Elizur Wright, Esq., and others. Of the pending bills, one regulates the rate of interest in savings banks, while a second provides that the chief of the State detective force shall detail one, but no more than three deputies, to exercise a supervision over manufactories and buildings, and enforce the provisions of the school laws for working children. The bill, however, provides that such duties shall cease January 1, 1877.

#### VII.—FOREIGN LABOR LEGISLATION.

We do not propose, under the above heading, to give a minute history of labor and labor legislation in England and other European countries; only to show the most salient points of progress. Labor, in the abstract, has no country; it is the life of all countries. Between the English speaking peoples there is, however, more of a unity of interests; a comparative humanity exists, even if not acknowledged. If Massachusetts or America had led in labor reform, England would have watched our progress as intently as we watch hers. We cannot separate the countries upon the labor question any more than we can as regards literature, science or that Saxon endurance which surpasses simple bravery. In the section of this volume which states the results of the seven years' investigations of the bureau, much information concerning the labor legislation of foreign countries is given. The following brief statement of the causes which led to the English Factory Acts is copied from an article by Mr. C. L. Brace in "Harper's Magazine" for August, 1873.

"At length a band of devoted reformers and philanthropists arose, who were determined that this burning shame of their country (uneducated and overworked child labor) should be wiped out; who felt that the wealth and culture of England rested on a hideous foundation, when the labor of oppressed children built up the structure. They began an incessant agitation against the over-labor of factory children. They wrote for the press, printed documents, held public meetings, petitioned parliament, and sought in every way to rouse the public feeling and conscience. . . .

"After incessant discussion, and a long contest, the English 'Fac-

tory Bills' were carried through parliament, were repeatedly amended, improved and enlarged until they form now a ponderous blue-book. These Acts have been rigorously executed, and their effect has been that hundreds of thousands of little 'white slaves' have been redeemed from slavery, saved from premature death and sickness, and that a new class of English laborers is growing up, better educated, healthier, happier, and of more value to their employers. The reform was one of the most glorious and beneficent ever carried out in Great Britain."

Besides Great Britain, other European countries have laws for the protection of children. Prussia, France, Switzerland and Italy provide for the education of working children; Portugal, Russia and Austria are remodelling their school systems; compulsory education is the rule in Belgium, Norway, Sweden and even Turkey.

From 1833 to 1868, a period of thirty-six years, *two hundred and eighteen* special reports upon subjects connected with labor legislation were made by English parliamentary committees, an average of *six* yearly. These reports, valuable as they are, are scattered, and there is no one department of the English government to which application can be made for statistics. In Prussia, France, Saxony, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Bavaria and Russia there are central statistical bureaus, under the charge of competent men, from which official information is easily obtainable. In the section of this volume headed "Opinions of the Public and the Press," the names of the directors of many of these foreign bureaus are given with their addresses. Mr. George Howell, late secretary to the English parliamentary committee on trades-unions, who has given long and valued service in that capacity,—and of whom it is said "his great industry, patience, clear-headedness, and, above all, his moderation and most conciliatory manners, have immensely contributed to the unravelling of many difficulties, and to the promotion of a common understanding between parties opposed (or apparently opposed) to each other,"—makes the following suggestion in an English periodical called "The Beehive," of date February 12, 1876, for the establishment of an—

"ENGLISH BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF LABOR.

"The vast and daily increasing importance of all movements connected with, or having reference to, labor in this country, and especially the legislative tendency of very many of these movements, point conclusively to the necessity of a bureau of statistics of labor where the statesman, philanthropist, author, journalist or citizen can at all times obtain authentic information and reliable statistics, when attempting to deal with some of the many problems connected therewith.

"Political economy is still a progressive science; many of the teachings of its most able exponents have to be narrowly scanned and tested by the light of facts drawn from every-day life. Whenever any subject of especial interest comes up for discussion, requiring broad and comprehensive treatment on the part of the political economist or statesman who attempts to deal with it, he must create the machinery necessary to get the information absolutely required for its elucidation.

"Valuable sources of information and much useful and correct data exist, but these have to be sought out and the facts brought together, assorted and tabulated, before they can be ready for immediate use. This is often done at great cost both by private individuals and by government, but the misfortune is that the valuable collections of facts so obtained by men of extensive experience and general knowledge are often lost because there is no permanent record kept of them, and no office where they could be examined or obtained for future use.

"Such a permanent record could be prepared and maintained at much less expense than is now incurred for merely the special items of passing interest which are sometimes needed by the government or by private members of the House of Commons.

"It seems almost incredible that an old industrial country like Great Britain should be without a bureau of statistics of labor. In America, bureaus are established in Washington, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, etc., and judging by the valuable information annually issued, these departments give good satisfaction, not only to employers and workmen, but also to the general public, whose interest after all is of the first importance in all questions affecting labor and the condition of workmen.

"There are very many subjects which would naturally come within the scope of such a department, upon which reliable information should be obtained. These inquiries and reports should altogether avoid any controversial treatment of the several matters relegated to the department, its object being to furnish correct data, which



would be valuable to all classes and all parties, and be tabulated for ready and immediate use.

"Recent legislation seems to me to render such a department absolutely essential. The special subjects for inquiry, amongst others, are the following :—

"1. Divisions of labor, primary, secondary and otherwise ; general effect of such division of labor upon the special trade, upon prices and upon the open market.

"2. The price paid for labor, variations according to locality or other circumstances, whether it includes partial cost of materials, use of machinery, light, fuel, tools, implements or other matters.

"3. Hours of labor, variations according to locality, overtime and other matters relating thereto.

"4. Terms of labor, whether day-work or piece-work, nature of contracts, terms of engagement, whether by the day, week, month, etc.

"5. General effect of such contracts, relative influence on employers and workmen, and on the labor market.

"6. Labor organizations, their nature and extent, number of members in the several unions, their proportion to non-members, the principles upon which they are conducted, their payments, funds, benefits and management.

"7. General state of the labor market, whether overstocked or a scarcity of hands, cause in either case ; whether local or general, and whether there are openings for more workmen, and a necessity for the migration of workers from one locality to another.

"8. Cost of living, proportionate cost compared with wages for any given number of years. Have wages increased in the same proportion as the cost of living ? Variations in different localities.

"9. Habitations and rents. Description of houses and tenements, rent paid, nature and extent of accommodation, condition of dwellings, sanitary and otherwise.

"10. Proportion of artisans and other industrial classes generally to other classes, nature of distinctions, relative distinctions amongst the working classes.

"11. Strikes, history of, cause of dispute and how settled. Number of persons engaged in the strike, and their families, cost of the strike, how provided, and the general effects of the strike on the locality.

"12. Arbitration or conciliation, how far accepted by employers and workmen ; whether any, and if any, what attempts were made to settle the dispute, and by what means.

"13. Co-operation. What co-operative societies or stores exist in

the several localities, and the nature and number, if any, of co-operative productive societies. State number of members, summaries of business done, and profits.

"14. Benefit societies. Number and nature of, number of members, benefits, contribution, how conducted, whether annual or permanent.

"15. Building societies. Number of members, value of shares, shares issued, interest paid on capital; number of advances made, mode of repayment, amount of interest charged per £100, how conducted.

"16. Savings banks. Deposits therein, or in loan societies, or other similar societies. Interest paid on capital, interest charged on loans, nature of such societies and general management.

"17. General condition and position of the industrial classes in the several counties, or in special districts.

"18. Abstracts of legislative measures affecting these classes, either sought for or obtained, with special reference to statutes previously passed.

"These and similar subjects would come within the scope of such a department, and we believe that a great variety of useful information would be obtained of permanent interest to all classes; carefully prepared tables should be given according to the importance of the subject-matter, and where other government returns supply the necessary information, the needful reference should be given to save the time of the inquirer. It would also be useful to indicate other special sources of information where they exist, or to give abstracts of documents or books, if of sufficient importance.

"It might be objected that we already possess some of the information sought in the report of the board of trade, and of the registrar of friendly societies. This is, to some extent, true, but it is insufficient and dispersed; we want it to be exact, full, complete and compact. Workmen may object that it may furnish too much information for their benefit. We reply, not so, for it is obtainable now, and its inexactitude is a far greater evil than the fullest knowledge can possibly be. Moreover, it is very undesirable that there should be any semblance of secrecy in any organization or movement, and all investigations regarding labor, commerce or trade, and of the whole condition of industrial and social life, as well as its educational, sanitary and political character, should be open to all, and conducted in the light of day."

A reference to the section of this volume, which gives the results of the bureau investigations, will show the reader that

the work of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor has been nearly identical with that laid out above, and makes manifest that in this one element of labor reform, at least, Massachusetts has led England, and shown to the thinking labor men of that country, that in the universal work of labor reform this bureau is doing no inconsiderable service. The Bureau of Statistics at Berlin, Prussia, is closely allied to this department in its manner of working, and the figures obtained therefrom have been of great comparative value. Reliable statistics must precede efficient legislation, and we trust before many years that statistical bureaus in the various States of the Union and foreign countries will interchange the fruits of their researches, and aid in securing legislation for the good of labor throughout the world.

#### VIII.—ORGANIZATION AND MANNER OF WORKING.

The Act establishing the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, as has been previously stated, was passed June 22, 1869. The next day it received the governor's approval, and became a law. On the 31st of July, Governor Claflin appointed Hon. Henry K. Oliver of Salem, as chief, who, on the 4th of August, selected George E. McNeill, Esq., of Cambridge, as his deputy. In May, 1871, Governor Claflin, being still in office, re-appointed Mr. Oliver, and he again chose Mr. McNeill as his deputy.

In May, 1873, Governor Washburn commissioned Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of Reading, as chief. Mr. Wright was re-commissioned in May, 1875, for a second term of two years, by Governor Gaston. Upon his first appointment, Mr. Wright selected Major George H. Long, of Charlestown, as his deputy, and he retained the position until appointed deputy insurance commissioner of the State in April, 1876. In that month a bill was passed authorizing the chief to appoint a chief clerk in place of a deputy, and under this bill Mr. Charles F. Pidgin, of Boston, was selected for that position. The assistants employed by the bureau have varied in number each year; ranging from the ordinary force of two or three to as great a number as sixty-five, the latter being required for the tabulation and preparing for press of the census and industrial statistics returns.

The office of the bureau was originally located at the state house, but in June, 1873, it was removed to a building leased by the State at 33 Pemberton Square, where it now remains.

The salary of the chief was first placed at \$2,500 per annum; it was increased to \$3,000 in 1873, and reduced to \$2,500 again in 1876. The reduction was made in accordance with a general system of reduction of salaries of state officials instituted by the legislature of 1876. The salary of the deputy has been, uniformly, \$2,000 yearly. The pay of assistants, in whatever capacity, being limited by law to \$4 per day, the highest compensation for clerks and travelling agents has been \$1,200 per year. The chief clerk will receive a yearly salary of \$1,500. The average expense for each year has been \$10,500, one-half for salaries of officers, and one-half for clerk hire, travelling expenses, printing of schedules or blanks, and the usual contingent expenses of such an office. The rent of the rooms occupied is paid by the State out of a general appropriation, and the printing and binding of reports charged to the legislative printing account.

Having shown the personal organization of the bureau, we will proceed to give a brief description of its—

#### MANNER OF WORKING.

The officers appointed in 1869 found themselves in an untried field. To be sure, certain legislative committees and two commissions on hours of labor had investigated somewhat into questions of labor; but here was a new department, with the double duty imposed upon it of choosing its work and then performing it. It will be seen, one of two courses became necessary; either to gather facts indiscriminately, and upon them, if possible, base conclusions, or to start with the belief that certain things were true, and obtain all the corroborative testimony possible.

One of the first acts of the bureau was to send a letter to Hon. J. Lothrop Motley, then United States minister to England, requesting a catalogue of English public documents relating to the general question of labor. He complied with a list comprehending some eighty-six different works, and aggregating about three hundred volumes. Over one hundred

works upon subjects related to labor and the laboring classes were found in the state library in 1869, and the number has been increased yearly. An annual appropriation is made for the state library, and any book desired by a department is secured, and its use allowed.

Besides these sources, the bureau has received since its organization, the reports of the national and of other state governments upon subjects related to its work. Friends have contributed documents, foreign statistical societies have exchanged reports, and files of English labor papers have been kept up. On the other hand, the bureau reports have been sent free to every citizen of Massachusetts requesting the same, and information supplied to the press and general public in numberless instances. The reports have also been sent to all parts of the country, to Europe, and even to Australia; in addition, inquiries by letter from foreign countries have been answered, and all possible information sent. Englishmen and the English government have shown an especial interest in the bureau work, and, as a rule, all pay for documents sent us has been refused. One labor paper, published at London, Eng., has been received regularly for many years, and the publisher insists upon sending it free.

After this statement of certain workings of the bureau, let us return to the remarks of the officers relative to the preliminary investigations in 1869.

In the first report the officers say, referring to the Resolve creating the bureau :—

“The immediate impression derived from the mere words of the Resolve was, that the leading duty of the bureau was the gathering of statistics of labor, and of reporting them to the legislature, together with what might be ascertained of their influence upon the health, education, manners of life and industrial habits of those whose daily labor earns their daily bread, but who, it is not to be ignored, are, as a rule, very inconsiderable sharers in the wealth they help to generate.

“This impression finally enlarged itself, however, into a more comprehensive thought, that it was our duty to inquire into the very important subjects of the hours of labor, the wages, the savings, the manner of life at home and from home, the recreations, the culture, moral and mental, of the laborers, and the influence of the

several kinds of labor upon their health of body and brain, not ignoring the subjects of co-operation, strikes, trades-unions, and the general relations of capital and labor, with such matter relating to the history of labor and labor legislation, here and abroad, as we might be able to gather; so that the actual status, as far as the researches of a few months would permit us to do, of the laboring men, women and children of Massachusetts might be ascertained, and be set forth to the legislature and people of the State."

Certain legal points required consultation with the attorney-general. His replies to various letters of inquiry may be summarized briefly.

1. The bureau has no power, as such, to administer an oath. (This difficulty was overcome by commissioning the chief as justice of the peace.)
2. The bureau has no authority to take depositions. It may send for persons and papers, but has no power to compel attendance.
3. It may examine witness, under oath, but can pay only \$1.25 per day as fees, and four cents per mile to and from the office.

With its powers, or rather want of power, thus defined, the bureau began its work, acknowledging its entire dependence upon the voluntary written or verbal testimony of individuals, and upon the investigations of its agents who, in turn, could not compel the unwilling to testify or supply statistics. In the fourth report the officers remark:—

"We are pleased to say that in only one instance has our summons been refused, though in many cases we have been frankly told that as there was no law compelling answers to our questions, they (the respondents) respectfully decline to comply with our request."

The voluntary circular plan was first instituted. Out of 334 assessors, all but 10 replied to a circular sent them asking for information concerning manufacturing establishments in their respective towns. The manufacturers themselves were not so communicative. Only 217 out of 1,248 replied at all, and the answers were, the report says, "generally curt and unsatisfactory." The schedule contained *eighty-one* inquiries. Neither did the workingmen themselves comply generally with the request for information. Their schedule contained

*one hundred and thirty-seven* questions, and 114 out of 268 replied wholly or in part. The nature of the work for the seven months ending March 1, 1869, is thus explained, and the contents of the first report shown :—

“A much condensed summary of labor in England, and legislation thereon, up to the emigration and settlement of America, supplied by English authorities, occupied about 48 pages. Of the remaining 375, all but eight are occupied wholly by home matter, excluding all foreign matter and statistics. Four of these eight relate to the sanitary influence of factory life abroad, and four to the homes and home-life of French operatives; leaving 367 devoted to labor matters in Massachusetts.”

As a preliminary to the work upon the report issued in 1871, correspondence was entered into with officials of other state governments, and with the United States Department of the Interior. The results of this system of preparation were a series of ten blanks. Of these schedules of inquiry, principally addressed to employers, 3,958 were sent out, and 2,447 returned, or 62 per cent. Some of the workmen's blanks used in 1869 being on hand, use was also made of them. Two agents were despatched to the western part of the State to gather workingmen's statistics, and a competent lady detailed to investigate woman's work and the condition of working women. Eight “strikes” occurred in the State in 1870,—at Fall River, Lynn, North Adams, Worcester, Marlborough, Weymouth, Randolph and Needham; witnesses were summoned by the bureau, and their testimony phonographically reported. Letters were sent to prominent physicians, and opinions asked concerning certain deleterious branches of labor. A tour of inspection was made of Boston tenement-houses; workingmen were requested to visit the bureau and make statements of their experience; and a copious selection was made from foreign labor laws and English testimony upon the half-time system of schooling.

The material for the report of 1872 was obtained in a similar manner to that of its predecessors. Statistical information was requested by sending out blank circulars, and depending upon the voluntary courtesy of correspondents. Of 5,112 blanks mailed, 2,161 were returned with replies,

being 42+ per cent. In addition, thirty manufacturing establishments were visited by the officers of the bureau. The officers were aware of the "limited amount of completeness" of the returns, ascribing their meagreness to the small amount of money placed at the disposal of the bureau.

The investigations, though not securing completeness on any one point, were directed to a multitude of subjects, which are thus summarized in the report itself:—

"The subjects to which, during the past year, we directed our attention, were the condition of wage laborers, both men and women, their wages, earnings, hours of labor, cost of living, savings, education, moral and physical status, their opportunities for improvement through unions of any variety, co-operative experiments, libraries, reading-rooms, or other intellectual associations, etc., the surroundings of congregated and out-of-door labor, the conveniences or inconveniences of their working places and homes, and the employment and schooling of children in factories, stores, shops, or on the street.

"Attention has also been given to the influence of different occupations upon health and morals; to strikes, their causes and results; to the truck system; to factory life, here and in England; the story of workingmen's lives by themselves, their arguments upon hours of labor, poverty, etc., and to the experiment with Chinese laborers. Upon this latter subject, the reticence of the employer circumscribes the information within very narrow limits. To this has been added a brief history of the purchasing power of wages in England from the year 1300, and in Massachusetts from its settlement, with comments upon the same, recommendations, and an appendix containing a brief description of labor abroad, and the English truck system.

"The following matters relating to the employments and condition of working-women were specially assigned to a female assistant for investigation; viz., the number of occupations in which they are engaged; their hours of labor, home life, regularity of employment, number of weeks of work during a year, comparative intelligence, examination of their boarding-houses, amusements, health of their special occupations, etc.; disabilities of each class of women-workers as compared with men at the same occupation; merit or demerit of institutions for women, such as homes or lodging-houses; free intelligence offices; advertisements for working women; frauds of the same other than those practised upon men,



guerilla merchants, so called ; Jews' shops, sewing-machine frauds, etc.

"From the United States census of 1870, the bureau has prepared a complete index of all the employments in Massachusetts, and has so arranged the details as to give at a glance the number of persons employed, the average wages, yearly earnings, amount of capital invested, and the total product of each branch of industry in the Commonwealth."

In the report for 1873, the officers made a brief allusion to the opposition the bureau had encountered since its existence, and attributed much of it to ignorance of facts. To all attacks, the officers say they never made public reply. Referring to the year's work, the report says :—

"We entered upon the work of the fourth report with the purpose of ascertaining and presenting the facts relating to the actual average annual earnings of all persons employed in the mechanical and manufacturing industries of the State, the wages and earnings and condition of unskilled laborers, the cost of living, the distribution of wealth as shown in the ownership of real and personal estates, and in the deposits in our savings banks ; also the effect upon wages and production, of the reduction of the hours of labor from twelve to eleven, the effect of special employments upon the health, morals and prosperity of the people ; co-operation, its successes, failures and dangers ; the condition of tenement-houses, the condition of labor in the early part of the century, etc."

The tables relating to wages, earnings and days employed, were drawn from the United States census. The personal visits made were chiefly to obtain information concerning the non-enforcement of the school laws for working children. The investigation into co-operative experiments, both by circulars and witnesses, was unproductive. The subject of savings banks received the principal attention of the bureau.

The report for 1874 was the work of the new officers, appointed in 1873, six months having been used in its preparation.

In the introduction the officers state that the following letter, received from a distinguished statistician of the United States, formed a guide in conducting their investigations :—

"DEAR SIRs :—I have given much thought to the letter in which you do me the honor to ask me my views as to the work of the **Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor** ; but as the result, I find little to say beyond expressing my hearty sympathy with the purposes of your office, and my wishes for its success. I feel the strongest confidence that the Commonwealth is prepared for your work, and that the work can be done to the satisfaction of all citizens ; and that your office has only to prove itself superior alike to partisan dictation and to the seductions of theory, in order to command the cordial support of the press and of the body of citizens. If any mistake is more likely than others to be committed in such a critical position, it is to undertake to recognize both parties as parties, and to award so much in due turn to each. This course almost inevitably leads to jealousy and dissatisfaction. If an office is strong enough simply to consider the body of citizens, and to refuse to recognize or entertain consideration of parties, success is already in the main assured. Public confidence once given, the choice of agencies, the selection of inquiries to be propounded, are easy and plain. The country is hungry for information ; everything of a statistical character, or even of a statistical appearance, is taken up with an eagerness that is almost pathetic ; the community have not yet learned to be half skeptical and critical enough in respect to such statements. All this is favorable to such laudable efforts as you are engaged in, for the difficulty of collecting statistics in a new country requires much indulgence ; and I have strong hopes that you will so distinctly and decisively disconnect the **Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor** from politics,—from dependence on organizations, whether of workingmen or of employers, and from the support of economical theories, individual views or class interests,—as to command the moral support of the whole body of citizens, and receive the co-operation of all men of all occupations and of all degrees, without reference, however, either to their degrees or their occupations."

The voluntary schedule plan was deemed worthless in the outset, and was sparingly used. That little use, however, demonstrated clearly the futility of trying to obtain full and credible statistics by such a means. Of the 342 school boards addressed, 206 replied, but of the answers very few were definite in their statements. A schedule of simple, easily answered inquiries was sent to 1,530 clergymen, who were deemed for many reasons "better qualified to answer official inquiries than men in almost any other position in life," and yet

only 544, or 35+ per cent, answered. Some so far forgot the courtesies of letter-writing as to anonymously assert that the information desired was none of the bureau's business. Nine cities and towns were visited, and the sanitary condition of workingmen's homes looked into. Agents of the bureau visited 233 textile manufactories in the State, and made sworn returns as regarded means of escape in case of fire, protection of shafting, guarding of machinery, care of elevators, cleaning of machinery when running, ventilation and average air-space supplied for operatives. From information obtained personally by Hon. Edward Young, chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics, while in Europe, very full tables of rates of wages, hours of labor, prices of provisions, clothing, rent, etc., were prepared. The figures for Massachusetts were gathered by the bureau's agents. From the comparisons instituted, the relative purchase-power of money in Europe and Massachusetts was deduced and illustrated by tables. The savings banks were called upon to keep special books for the information of the bureau, and 115 out of 169 complied. Considerable matter of minor importance was secured by visits of agents, and a few extracts from foreign documents were made for purposes of illustration or comparison.

The report for 1875 was mainly the result of personal investigation by the agents of the bureau. They visited the half-time schools, and reported their condition and prospects. Certain branches of employment were personally inquired into, and their special effects upon female health demonstrated. Immediately after the disaster at Granite Mills, an agent of the bureau visited Fall River, and elicited important facts from nineteen individuals and families. From the sworn returns obtained in the year previous, tables were prepared showing the means of egress, in more than two hundred mills, from upper stories in case of fire or panic. The statements made were lately put on trial in a court of law, and several mill agents and superintendents testified that, as far as their knowledge extended, the descriptions given by the bureau were entirely correct and trustworthy.

The condition of 397 workingmen's families was ascertained by the investigations of agents. The mode of procedure in this work is thus described in the report:—

"The agent, upon arriving in a place selected for investigation, and, knowing its prominent or peculiar industries, visited the mill, workshop, wharf, public works or foundry, as the case might be. Accosting the first workman at hand, a statement of what was desired was made; in case of compliance, a time was fixed, convenient to the workingman, at which to supply the desired figures and information; in case of inability or want of inclination, application was made to one and another of the workmen, and at other establishments, until the desired number was secured. Visits by day were made in order that the locality and the immediate surroundings of the houses could be examined, and visits in the evening were required, for then the workmen could refer to their account-books and bills, and find the items of expenditure of their cost of living. As a matter of fact, our returns would have been materially smaller in number, or wanting in completeness, but for these evening visits made after work was done. The rooms were inspected, and their pleasant or unpleasant features noted. The children were at home, and the physical appearance and dress of the family were observed."

Attempts to secure information concerning co-operation, by circulars, proving, as usual, a comparative failure, the efforts of agents supplemented the work, and secured all available data. The report contained much selected information, obtained by the personal investigations of Hon. Edward Young, Hon. C. C. Andrews, United States minister to Sweden and Norway, and from documents secured by the chief of the bureau while in Europe.

The manner of working, as regards the state census and industrial statistics, will be fully explained in its appropriate section.

The report for 1876 is wholly the result of personal investigation, the blanks used forming part of the census system. They were left with individuals by the enumerators, information given when necessary, and when collected were examined to supply deficiencies and correct errors. The number of available schedules received was 71,339, of which 55,515 were filled by males and 15,824 by females. The information gained is presented with regard to sex, to wage and salary receivers, and by families, cities, towns, counties and important occupations. The points of inquiry were as follows :—

Persons dependent.  
 Hours employed daily.  
 Days employed yearly.  
 Daily wages.  
 Yearly wages.  
 Other earnings.  
 Wife's earnings.  
 Children's earnings.  
 Unable to work from sickness.  
 Persons owning houses.  
 Mortgages on houses.  
 Rate of interest on mortgages.  
 Rents.  
 Number of rooms hired.  
 Value of garden crops.  
 Cost of living.  
 Volumes in private library (over 100).

This report, being the seventh in the series, will be sent on application, and prepayment of postage, until the number provided for distribution is exhausted. By law of the State, all public documents are furnished free of expense to parties desiring them.

#### IX.—DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTS.—OPINIONS OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRESS.

During the seven years of the bureau's existence, about fifty thousand copies of its reports have been published by order of the legislature. As is usual with public documents, the members of the Senate and House have received liberal quotas for distribution among their constituents; but at least one-half of the number published has been placed at the disposal of the bureau. No rigid rules have been applied in their distribution, but any person desirous of reading a report has been accommodated. The demands have come, of course, primarily, from the citizens of Massachusetts; but persons in every State of the Union, the newspaper press, public and social libraries, other state governments, institutions of learning, and scientific and literary associations have been supplied. The foreign circulation has also been large, and divided among classes similar to those given above.

It would be useless to print a representative home list of a hundred names from the alphabetical records of thousands which are kept by the bureau; but any person desiring to study statistics, or wishing to investigate labor subjects, can obtain great aid from the correspondence-roll of the bureau, which is freely placed at his disposal. In order to accommodate such parties, however, we present below a selected list from our foreign records. It will serve a double purpose, by giving an idea of the circulation of the bureau reports in Europe, and by furnishing the names and addresses of the prominent statisticians of Europe.

DISTRIBUTION OF BUREAU REPORTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Edinburgh Workingmen's Club, Robt. McLaren, Secretary, Scotland.

Joseph White, Southgate Mills, Bradford, Eng.

Friedrich Krupp, Essen, Prussia.

Alexander Redgrave, Factory Inspector's Office, London, Eng.

Robert Baker, Factory Inspector's Office, London, Eng.

Samuel Stepney, Factory Inspector's Office, London, Eng.

Freiburg University, Baden.

Foreign Office, Imperial Government, Vienna, Austria.

Geo. Potter, London, Publisher of "The Bee-Hive."

Alsager Hay Hill, London, Publisher of "Labour News."

"Co-operative News," Manchester, Eng.

A. J. Mundella, M. P., Elvaston Sq., London, Eng.

Geo. B. Emerson, London (care Baring Bros.).

R. Applegarth, London, Eng.

Wm. Allan, London, Eng.

John Kane, Darlington, Eng.

A. A. Self, London, Eng.

W. H. Blatchley, London, Eng.

T. Dunning, London, Eng.

C. Bradlaugh, London, Eng.

Prof. Beesley, London, Eng., London University.

Sir Chas. Dilke, House of Commons, London.

J. Geo. Eccarius, London, Eng.

Thomas Hughes, London, Eng.

Geo. J. Holyoake, London, Eng.

John Leigh, Manchester, Eng.

Institute Technology, Manchester, Eng.

Miss Emily Faithfull, London, Eng., Victoria Press.

Geo. Howell, London, Eng.

Felix Heikel, Helsingfors, Finland.  
 Paul Liptay, Hungary.  
 London Statistical Society, London, Eng.  
 Hon. Geo. P. Marsh, Rome, Italy.  
 General Registry Office, London, Eng.  
 Dr. William Farr, British Museum, London, Eng.  
 Frederick Purdy, Poor Law Commission, London, Eng.  
 Henry Longley, Local Gov't Board, London, Eng.  
 G. W. Hastings, Social Science Association, London, Eng.  
 William Tallock, Howard Prison Association, London, Eng.  
 F. Cowell Stepney, London, Eng.  
 J. R. Whitehead, M. P., Leeds, Eng.  
 Mr. Foster, M. P., Leeds, Eng.  
 Edwin Hill, London, Eng.  
 M. D. Hill, Court of Bankruptcy, Bristol, Eng.  
 University Library, Cambridge, Eng.  
 "Westminster Review," London, Eng.  
 Mrs. Charlotte A. Joy, Isle of Wight, Eng.  
 Sir James Cox, Board of Lunacy, Edinburgh.  
 Registrar-General, Edinburgh.  
 "Edinburgh Review," Edinburgh.  
 Glasgow College, Glasgow.  
 Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums, Dublin.  
 Poor Law Commissioners, Dublin.  
 Registrar-General, Dublin.  
 Chief Secretary of Government, South Adelaide, Australia.  
 Dr. F. Norton Manning, Sydney, New South Wales.  
 Minister of Justice, Paris.  
 M. le Garde des Sceaux, Paris.  
 M. Bonneville de Marsagny, Paris.  
 M. Galzard, Statistical Society, Paris.  
 M. A. Legoyt, Gen. Statistical Bureau, Paris.  
 M. Roux, Statistical Society, Marseilles.  
 Dr. B. A. Morel, Rouen.  
 Government of Holland, The Hague. By U. S. Minister.  
 Dr. Von Baumhauer, Statistical Bureau, The Hague.  
 Government of Belgium, Brussels. By U. S. Minister.  
 Emile de Laveleye, Liege, Belgium.  
 Prof. Le Roy, Royal University, Liege, Belgium.  
 M. A. Visschers, Central Statistical Commission, Brussels, Belgium.  
 M. A. Quetelet, President Central Stat. Com., Brussels, Belgium.  
 M. Stevens, Inspector Gen. of Prisons, Brussels, Belgium.  
 Sig. Beltram Scaliar, Inspector Gen. of Prisons, Rome, Italy,  
 , Sig. Dr. Maestri, Royal Bureau of Statistics, Rome, Italy.

- Dr. G. Neumann, Berlin, Prussia.  
 Dr. Ernst Engel, Bureau of Statistics, Berlin, Prussia.  
 Dr. F. Von Holtzendorf, Prison Commission, Berlin, Prussia.  
 Dr. Hach, Lubec.  
 Dr. Charles Dippe, Mecklenburg-Schwerein.  
 Dr. C. W. Ascher, Hamburg.  
 Dr. Von Holtz, Heidelberg, Baden.  
 Dr. Geo. Varrentrapp, Geographical and Statis. Society, Frankfurt.  
 Dr. Von Sewelof, Statistical Bureau, Hanover.  
 Dr. F. B. Von Hermann, Statistical Bureau, Munich, Bavaria.  
 Dr. Weinlig, Statistical Bureau, Dresden, Saxony.  
 Prof. Ed. Wappaus, Gottingen University.  
 Joseph Bernal, Bureau of Statistics, Prague, Bohemia.  
 J. Ritter Von Engelhardt, Gov't Stat. Bureau, Vienna, Austria.  
 Baron de Goering, Vienna, Austria.  
 National Museum, Pesth, Hungary.  
 Dr. Goss, Geneva, Switzerland.  
 Dr. H. C. Lombard, Geneva, Switzerland.  
 Prof. E. Decor, Neufchâtel, Switzerland.  
 M. Max Wirth, Central Bureau of Statistics, Berne, Switzerland.  
 Polish Historical Museum. Sent to Le Comte Le Plata, Zurich, Switzerland.  
 Francisco G. Martini, Director of Education, Madrid, Spain.  
 Dr. Fred. Theodore Berg, Central Bureau of Statistics, Stockholm, Sweden.  
 Christiana University, Norway.  
 M. Pierre Semenou, Director Central Statistical Committee, St. Petersburg, Russia.  
 H. Fawcett, M. P., London, Eng.  
 Lloyd Jones, London, Eng.  
 John Stuart Mill, London, Eng.  
 London Society for Suppression of Mendicity.  
 John Ruskin, London, Eng.  
 "London Times."  
 "London Telegraph."  
 Gen. Archibald, British Consulate, New York.  
 Harris Gastrell, British Legation, Washington, D. C.  
 G. A. Schmitt, Austrian Consul, Boston.  
 M. Marshall, Cambridge, England.

#### IX.—OPINIONS OF THE PUBLIC AND THE PRESS.

From the wide circle of readers of the reports, the letters of commendation and of criticism have been numerous. It



is beyond the desired compass of this volume to give even brief extracts from the communications received, and a few selections might seem invidious or partial. The manner in which the friends of labor reform, whatever their particular ideas on the subject might be, have rallied to the support of the bureau when its continued existence has been in doubt, shows plainly that the need of the bureau is felt, and a belief in its usefulness is widely extended.

The officers said, in 1873, "We have continued assurances from laboring men, from labor newspapers, from labor organizations, and from leading labor reformers, that they will sustain the bureau in its investigations." We have no doubt that such is the general feeling at the present time.

It must not be supposed that the manufacturers of Massachusetts are leagued in opposition to the bureau and its work. As a general rule, they have given every desired facility to the bureau's agents, and have manifested, in many instances, a deep interest in the bureau's work. Of course, there have been many exceptions found. Many consider the investigations inquisitorial, insulting, etc.; and many, knowing they were violating the law, have shown great opposition to the proximity of its officers.

The statisticians of the country have complimented the bureau's work, and, in many cases, offered valuable suggestions, which have been followed.

The newspapers have shown a general desire to lay abstracts of the reports before their readers, and many have devoted editorial space to the serious consideration of facts presented. Considering the impersonality of newspaper articles, we shall venture to give a few extracts from editorial remarks.

The second report of the bureau is thus referred to by "The Nation," of New York, dated June 1, 1871:—

#### "THE LABOR QUESTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

"It is difficult to exaggerate the value of such labor as is so intelligently performed by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, whose second annual report has been recently presented to the legislature of that State.

"The report itself is a model for clearness, system and practical arrangement, and especially for a thorough recognition of the nature of the facts required by a body of legislators, though it is much to

be feared that they will be the last to be benefited thereby. It does not need a very close scrutiny to recognize that General Oliver, the chief of the bureau, is in warm sympathy with the workmen, and, from conviction, inclined to their views. But, after a careful study of the volume, we acquit the authors of every suspicion of partiality in what was, after all, the main work, the collection of the facts themselves; and these are of the utmost importance.

"That the reading of such reports as General Oliver's will convince many persons of the gravity of the evil, and reconcile them to the freest and most exhaustive discussion of the remedies, is the chief, as it will be the most immediate, result of the establishment of the bureau itself.

"It is unfortunately true, that the prejudice against anything savoring of so-called labor reform, for the moment, almost bars its intelligent discussion, and it is to be regretted that the extreme bulk of this volume will prevent many from examining it, who might otherwise contribute to make its contents known. But the mere existence of a permanent bureau, authorized to take testimony on the subject, and capable of exercising that authority with fairness and intelligence, is a long step towards a correct understanding of this great problem."

The "Springfield Republican," April 26, 1872, contains the following concerning—

"THE LABOR BUREAU'S REPORT.

"Each successive year increases, perhaps we may say, doubles, the value of the annual reports sent out from the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. General Oliver, the chief, and Mr. McNeill, the deputy of the bureau, who unite in writing the reports, come every year somewhat nearer to comprehensive acquaintance with the myriad facts that make up the industrial problem of Massachusetts; moreover, they acquire a better method of setting them forth.

"But it will still be some years before the statistics thus presented will have the weight that belongs to carefully collected and accurately analyzed results; for it is not yet possible, in any branch of the inquiry, to allow for all the facts that ought to be known and considered."

The "American Artisan," of May 29, 1872, says:—

"The institution and maintenance by the State of such a bureau, cannot be too highly commended, and the gentlemen whose inde-

fatigable and judicious labors have produced the work before us, are entitled, not only to the thanks of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, but of the country at large."

The Boston "Commonwealth" spoke thus strongly of attempts to abolish the bureau in 1872 :—

"So the effort now is to abolish the Bureau of Labor. The struggle between capital and labor is growing bitter,—bitter, now, even on the side of capital. It objects to investigation of its methods.

"Let us find, rather, the true 'state pride,' that shall dare seek out its own evils for correction. There is no shame in any quotation of our difficulties made from *our own* investigation and confession in reports.

"Abolish the bureau in a scare, lest we find something wrong, and in time somebody else will be trumpeting our difficulties and also our degradation. Then, indeed, may we blush and dread exposure. Only in the continuance of the Labor Bureau is there honor and integrity. Its abolition would be simply cowardice."

An issue of the New York "Weekly Tribune" (March 11, 1874) thus examines into—

#### "THE FACTS ABOUT THE WORKING CLASSES.

"A knowledge of the elements of the labor problem is essential to all progress in dealing with it. The proverb, that one-half the world does not know how the other half lives, is nowhere so true as in respect to those who do and those who do not earn their living by manual toil. More light is thrown upon this subject by the facts gathered in such reports as that of the Massachusetts Labor Bureau, which we present elsewhere, than all the fine-spun theories of doctrinaires or the rant of labor demagogues would furnish in a century.

"Previous to the organization of that bureau, it was generally believed that Massachusetts was a model Commonwealth, far superior to the rest of the world in respect to the education of her masses. The training of her common schools was her glory and her pride; and however necessary compulsory education might be under effete governments, here, at least, was a State where the children of the poorest citizen were proficient in the three r's. Unhappily, the statistics of the Labor Bureau tell a very different tale. The children of working people in Massachusetts are, in great part, as sadly neglected in respect to education, as if they were born in the middle of Africa. There are 25,000 of them, between the ages

of 5 and 15, thrust into the workshop instead of the school-room. The report says that they do not receive the slightest education, either in public or in private schools. What sort of citizens will they make, when, under our equal laws, the ballot is placed in their hands? Of what avail will books or newspapers, or any other means of enlightenment, be to this army of heathens who cannot read?

"How do they live, these working people,—these people whom we only hear of when they rise in a strike; or begging for work, come to the soup-kitchens? The report photographs their life with painful fidelity. While they have work, their hours are long,—especially those of women and young girls. They occupy vile tenements as homes, where they are packed closely, without regard to decency or health; where sight and smell are offended at every step, and vice and drunkenness offer the only variety of their monotonous lives. Doubtless, this is not true of all; but of how terribly large a proportion it is true we are told in the report. They save something against a rainy day? Yes, more than was at one time supposed; and of the depositors dependent upon day wages, the savings banks hold an average to each name of \$121. But a large proportion save nothing; and there is a strange feature in this matter of saving—those save most who earn least; the workmen who can earn large wages are very rarely frugal.

"There are excellent recommendations at the close of the report, to which the only objection is, that they are too general in their character. The best of laws, the wisest management on the part of the State, cannot wholly meet the exigency. Philanthropy and capital must go hand in hand, and, having sought out these evils and ascertained their origin, must find the true solution of the labor problem in the elevation of the workingman."

The New York "Graphic," in a series of four articles, considered the bureau report for 1874. The issue for March 13, 1874, contained the following editorial upon the—

#### "HOMES OF THE POOR.

"Some of the facts brought to light by visitors among our poor people are heart-harrowing enough. A large number of young women, moved by a spirit of commendable charity, have gone among the homes of the poor of the city this winter, to carry relief and comfort to their wretched inmates. The pictures of destitution, squalor, and nauseating filthiness they paint, are enough to make the strongest soul sick. In some instances the visitors have

been so affected by the odors and infections of the stived tenements, where scores of human beings are huddled together, as to be incapacitated for further work. It is doubtless true, that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives. But after listening to and reading some of the accounts of these voluntary visitors among the poor, it is a wonder that a large class of our fellow-beings live at all.

"The same state of things is exhibited, in an equally striking way, by the report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. The commissioners devote special attention to the dwellings of the poor in that State. They found a large proportion of them dingy, unventilated, unwholesome, and thoroughly demoralizing in every respect. We give some of the facts in another column. They tell their own story. And here is one of their instances: 'In a single building, in the town of W., thirty-two feet long, twenty feet wide, three stories high, with attics, there habitually *exist* thirty-nine people of all ages. For their use there is one pump and one privy, within twenty feet of each other, with the several sink-spouts discharging upon the ground near by. The windows are without weights, and the upper sashes are immovable. No other provision is made for fresh air. Scores of similar overcrowded and uncleanly tenements exist and could be cited.'

"The effect of such habitations on health and morals must be incalculably bad. It is not surprising that people who are compelled to live in tenements unfit for horses, or even swine, resort to the dramshop when the work of the day is over, and try to hide their wretchedness from themselves in the convivialities of a well-lighted saloon and the delirium of intoxication. Nor is it surprising that the inmates and progeny of such homes are sickly, thriftless, ignorant, often vile, and sometimes violent. These miserable rookeries, rented at extortionate rates by rich capitalists, are the prolific nests of crime. If anything is to be done to save society from the depredations of criminals, to check pauperism, intemperance and vice, the work must begin at the beginning. It is the springs that make the river. Edward Everett remarked that many of the children in a dark and filthy court at the North End of Boston were blind from their birth. Soup-kitchens and labor demonstrations may be well in their way; but before any permanent amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes can take place, they must be better housed and conditioned. Health and morals require something more than soup and sentiment. Relief must give way to a reform that goes back to the sources of the difficulty. Dr. Holmes has said, 'There are people who think that everything may be done, if the doer, be he educator or physician, be only called "in

season." No doubt; but *in season* would often be a hundred or two years before the child was born, and people never send so early as that.' We must prepare for a better state of things in the next generation, by laying the foundations in this. A true civilization thinks more of characters than commodities, and will not consent to use up human beings for the sake of cheapening cloth a cent in the yard. The test of a civilization is the estimate in which it holds human beings. It is not how the rich ride, nor what they wear, but how the people live and what sort of houses they live in, that determine the character of a commonwealth."

The Brooklyn "Daily Argus," of March 17, 1875, devotes much space to the consideration of the bureau's work. It says:—

"Intelligence and system characterize many features of Massachusetts legislation, especially those that relate to labor and education. Our own Empire State ought to do for its imperial population what Massachusetts does for her children. Call it 'Yankee inquisitiveness,' or what you will, the old Bay State *does* inquire and investigate and reform. Her officials penetrate below the surface of life, and question all the needs of her people. No State in the Union has more complete returns to illustrate the sociology of its population, to ameliorate their condition, and to protect interests—sanitary, educational and moral—which go to frame the organization of a well-ordered commonwealth.

"Brooklyn is so largely made up of that New England element, which has the Massachusetts character for its dominant type, that her social condition is reflected in that of the ancient Puritan Commonwealth. The latest report of the Massachusetts 'Bureau of Statistics of Labor,' which has been made with most painstaking care, furnishes a multitude of facts and suggestions which are of application here, and which will interest a Brooklyn audience.

"The most interesting and practical part of the report is that which relates to the condition of the families of workingmen, such as day laborers, tradesmen and others who are obliged to depend for support on the work of their hands.

"One general fact appears,—that, while the wage system enables a minority of the workingmen to maintain themselves and families comfortably by their individual exertions, in a majority of cases they must have aid from wife or children to accomplish this result. The result shows that co-operation in the purchase of supplies is an economy of earnings, and that such a system is of great value to the laborer and the artisan.

"It would be interesting to have returns like these in Brooklyn ; but the Massachusetts statistics are of universal application, and may be applied, with only slight variance, to the condition of affairs here.

"The general conclusions of the report come home to every laborer and artisan wherever he may live. They impress the necessity of steady employment, of economy, and of co-operation.

"They furnish little justification for 'strikes.' We commend them to all who are dependent upon manual labor or small salaries."

The "Chicago Tribune," of March 19, 1875, says, editorially :—

"The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics has issued its sixth annual report. We regret to learn, from the abstract that has reached us, that there is danger of the abolition of the bureau. Its reports have been of the greatest value to the student of social science. They are quoted from Maine to Oregon, and are in demand throughout Europe. There is no other organization in the country which does a like work, for the Pennsylvania Bureau of Labor has as yet shown no reason for its existence. The six Massachusetts reports contain a mass of information which is obtainable nowhere else, and the subject is far from being exhausted. It is to be hoped that the good work may go on. These statistics show a better state of things, on the whole, than was expected. The decrease in wages, due to the panic, has deprived the Massachusetts workingman of his luxuries. Otherwise, he seems to be getting along well enough, so far as the present is concerned. He has slight chances for the future, however. 'In only a few cases,' says the report, 'is there evidence of the possibility of acquiring a competence.' As long as this is true, so long is labor wronged,—but it is usually wronged by itself. The husband and father 'has given hostages to fortune.' Where labor is too plenty, labor is too cheap, and a life of toil often ends in a pauper's grave. The bureau hopes great things from co-operation in the way of bettering the condition of the working classes, and in this it is right. In England and Germany, there are millions of workingmen living in comfort who, without co-operation, would be in squalid misery."

#### X.—RESULTS OF SEVEN YEARS' INVESTIGATIONS.

It would be impossible to consolidate in a few pages the arguments, testimony, narrative, statistical tables, conclusions and recommendations contained in the *four thousand* pages of

the seven reports already issued. With the design of giving, as far as possible, the results of the seven years' investigations, we first present a complete digest of the work of the bureau, arranged by important subjects, and having the report, volume and page given, in order to aid those desirous of reading up on any particular point, or in finding the details of each subject considered.

#### DIGEST OF THE BUREAU'S WORK.

[The Roman numerals indicate the volume of the Report. Vol. I. was issued in 1870; vol. VII. in 1876.]

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*Wages, Earnings and Time Employed.* II.—Wages in the fisheries, travel and transportation, pp. 171-197; domestic labor and women's work in Boston, 197-230; industrial wages, 230-342; mechanical wages, 342-416; tables of earnings, 417-422. III.—Review of the subject of *wages* and *earnings*, 529-538. IV.—Wages and earnings in manufacturing and mechanical employments, 71-90; wages and earnings of unskilled laborers, 90-108; special showing of wages, as to increase or decrease in, 108, 109; remarks on wages, 440-468. V.—Comparative rates of wages in Massachusetts and foreign countries, 51-101; increase in wages, 256, 257. VII.—Wage receivers, Part I. of the report, containing returns from about 70,000 wage workingmen and women; salary receivers, Part II., containing returns from about 10,000 salaried persons.

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*Testimony of Employers and Employés.* I.—Verbal hearings before the bureau, pp. 111-127 ; general remarks by employés, 237-255 ; written testimony sent in by wage laborers, 317-359. II.—Statistics and experiences of workingmen, 440-452, 570-621. III.—Workingmen's statistics, 258-269. IV.—Communications from laboring men, 313-322.

From the testimony, narrative, statistics and arguments comprehended by the preceding digest, the officers of the bureau felt warranted in drawing certain conclusions, and thereupon making various recommendations to the legislature of Massachusetts. These conclusions and recommendations embody the *practical results* of the seven years' investigations. The most important of these conclusions we give hereinafter, accompanied, in some cases, by a statement showing the weight of proof sustaining them, and secured legislation relating thereto. The arrangement of subjects adopted in the digest is retained, as far as practicable, in the following presentation. It should be borne in mind, that the officers in 1870, 1871, 1872 and 1873 were Messrs. Oliver and McNeill ; in 1874, 1875 and 1876, Messrs. Wright and Long.

#### HOURS OF LABOR.

The report for 1870 contained the following conclusion and recommendation :—

“ That the hours of labor are too long, and that the preliminary step to remedy the evil, is the enactment of a law restricting labor

in all manufacturing and mechanical establishments in the State to ten hours per day, or to sixty hours per week."

The report of 1871 again recommended—

"The establishment of ten hours as the limit of a day's work in all manufacturing and mechanical or other establishments in the State wherein men or women, or both, are employed."

The report for 1872 more specifically repeats the recommendations of the two preceding years:—

"We therefore recommend that the Commonwealth, in its employing capacity, adopt the example set by the United States, and by some of the individual States, of abridging the labor day for all manual laborers in her employ, either by contract or otherwise, so that the experiment may be tried, at public expense, whether a reduction of hours is, or is not, an increase of wages. We further recommend that a law be enacted, similar to the Factory Law of Great Britain, limiting the hours of labor in all manufacturing, mechanical or other establishments in the State, to ten (10) hours in any one day, or sixty hours in any week; and that no child, under thirteen years of age, shall be employed in any such establishment; nor at any age, unless such child has received the elements of a common school education, and shall be physically qualified for such labor, —age, education and physical condition to be matters of due certificate provided for by law; and further, that all children between thirteen and fifteen years of age, so employed, shall not be employed more than five hours in any one day,—said hours to be between six o'clock in the forenoon and six o'clock in the afternoon,—and that they shall attend school, vacations excepted, three hours on each and every day; the same law to compel protection against accidents by unguarded belting, machinery, elevators or hoist-ways; this law to be enforced by specially appointed inspectors, who shall have power to enter the premises of any establishment when in operation, to make research and to enforce the law."

The report for 1873 repeated the above recommendation. That for 1874 contained much statistical information bearing upon the matter, which will be referred to again. The report for 1875 says upon the subject:—

"The legislature, by Act of 1874, has virtually established the day's work at ten hours, and a further reduction should not be attempted till other matters have been dealt with; and, in fact, we

believe, that, when the other matters have received the attention they deserve, the hours of labor will take care of themselves.

"The law of last year was passed under similar circumstances which attended and followed the passage of the English ten-hour law. The latter went into effect almost immediately, not so much from the desire of manufacturers, as from the effect of the financial crisis which existed.

"Working-time was reduced on account of the times, by and for the manufacturers themselves, and when the crisis had passed, it was not found easy to return to the old hours, and so the ten-hour law came into operation with facility. And it is or will be the same in this State; and although a few mills have sought to evade its provisions, we anticipate a general and easy acquiescence in its provisions, and as time advances, the wisdom, or the want of wisdom, of the legislature will be proven. At present, the only serious wrong which exists, so far as working-time is concerned, affects married women and young children."

The text of the ten-hour law referred to above will be found on page 37. The arguments used against its adoption were the same as those relied upon in England, when the passage of a similar law was under consideration.

The discussion of the hours of labor question brought out many points of interest and value. The fact that going and coming from work forms a material addition to the labor day was demonstrated,—low wages compelling a workman to seek cheap tenements far from the centres of industry and population. The Fall River mills began running, voluntarily, January 1, 1869, on the ten-hour plan, and continued for *twenty-one months*, when they were obliged, by competition and other causes, to return to eleven hours. The statistics given in the report for 1874 bore directly upon the subject. In twenty-seven leading occupations compared with England, three required fewer hours in Massachusetts than in England; eight required the same hours in both countries; sixteen industries (including boots and shoes, cotton and woollen goods) required more hours in this State than in England. The following table, showing the time run by Massachusetts mills prior to the passage of the ten-hour law, is from the report for 1874 :—

"In 233 textile manufactories in the State of Massachusetts, the hours of labor per week are as follows:—

19 mills run	.	.	.	.	.	.	60	hours per week.
48	"	.	.	.	.	.	62½	" "
5	"	.	.	.	.	.	63½	" "
36	"	.	.	.	.	.	64½	" "
111	"	.	.	.	.	.	66	" "
14	"	.	.	.	.	.	66 to 70	" "

"Estimating the average of the 14 last named as 68 hours, the average of the 233 mills is very nearly 64½ hours per week."

The figures gained by the State census of 1875, and used in the preparation of the report for 1876, are well-nigh incontrovertible. Counting in all kinds of labor, 53,304 males reported the time employed daily as  $10\frac{21}{100}$  hours, and 13,507 females,  $10\frac{42}{100}$  hours. The males worked  $241\frac{65}{100}$  days in the year, and the females,  $258\frac{26}{100}$ . If they could have been employed *regularly* on the 308 working days of the year, they could have obtained their yearly earnings by an average day's labor of *eight hours* for males and *eight hours fifty minutes* for females.

We have said the above figures are well-nigh incontrovertible. The industrial statistics for 1875 obtained the hours employed daily, the daily wage, and the days employed yearly for 300,000 workingmen and women in this State; when the final figures are arrived at, as far as statistics are concerned, the questions of hours of labor and earnings will be settled, for a decade at least. The industrial statistics of Massachusetts, soon to be published, will contain the results referred to, with special reference to sex, particular occupation, piece or day work and age.

#### KIND OF LABOR.

The United States census of 1870 has supplied the only reliable information that the bureau has had as to the number of persons engaged in the various industries of the State, but the classification was not sufficiently minute to be of great value. The State census for 1875, when published, will give the occupation of every person in the State *by its exact name*, and with a classification as to age. As a basis for correct thought and proper legislation, the resulting

figures will be invaluable. The ratio of the producing and non-producing classes will then be definitely established.

CONDITION OF WORKING PEOPLE IN THEIR HOMES AND EMPLOYMENTS.

The report of 1870 recommended,—

“That the whole subject of tenement-houses, their evils, and the remedies therefor, and the enforcement of all laws relating thereto, be committed to the State Board of Health.”

It also declared the belief of the officers,—

“That there is peril to life and limb from unguarded machinery, and peril to health from lack of ventilation, and insufficiency of means of escape in case of fire, in many establishments, and that these evils can only be prevented by detailed enactments.

“That there will be great difficulty in carrying any remedies into effective force, excepting by establishment under law of a system of inspection, as in England.”

The report for 1871 took the same ground as that of 1870, in relation to tenement-houses and a system of factory inspection.

The report for 1872, thus refers to tenement-houses :—

“Our exposure of tenement-houses has excited a deep and effective interest in the real condition of the homes of low-paid laborers, and led the way to means of relief, and, perhaps, of remedy.”

The report for 1874 considers that—

“To produce the better *status* of the working classes there should be,—

“1. An effort in his own behalf on the part of the workingman to remove from himself the evil influences, physical and moral, that too greatly surround his home.

“2. An organized effort on the part of philanthropy and capital conjoined, to aid him in this work, by the creation of cheap, healthful and comfortable homes.

“3. A co-operative effort on the part of employer and employed to secure for the benefit of both the most favorable hygienic conditions of employ.

“4. A care that certain requirements of existing law, statute and physical, should receive full recognition in the employment of labor as affecting females in particular.

"5. A union of capital and labor to forward the vital interests of both, in home and factory, in the securing of the supplies of life, the care of the sick, and their kindred interests. 'Not fearful lest we do too much, but lest we do not enough.'"

The same volume says, concerning the homes of working-men :—

"The great want of Fall River is better homes for the operatives. There are hundreds of tenements that are really unfit to live in, entirely without the comforts, and with very few of the absolute necessary conveniences of a home. But a change is taking place; and great credit is due the following corporations for their enterprise in building tenements for the use of their operatives: Mechanics, Davol, Sagamore, Weetamoe, Flint, Wampanoag, King Philip, Border City, Chace and Slade. The tenements are commodious, comfortable, well arranged, in healthy locations, and very far in advance of anything of the kind in Fall River."

The report for 1875 arrives at the following conclusions, in relation to the employment of women :—

"We believe: That the employment at labor of any girl under fifteen years of age should not be allowed.

"That the employment of girls of other ages—and women generally—at employments unsuited to their sex, should not be suffered (such employments being determined by a council of salubrity, in France, composed of those most eminently fit for their high commission).

"That in such employments as women should be admitted to, they should be permitted a 'periodical absence,' without pecuniary loss for such time, as might be just and necessary.

"That in employments where women should be admitted, and which require high degrees of mental concentration, with physical energy, additional vacations of sufficient extent should be the right of the employé.

"That in all employments it should be obligatory upon the employer to conduct the processes of the occupation under the most advantageous conditions to health, and to secure all improvements in this regard that may become approved.

"That in all larger manufactories (of over certain numbers of employés) there should be special sanitary supervision, at the expense of the proprietors.

"That there should be a well-established examination and certifi-



cation of all employés, male and female, proposing to engage in any deleterious or burdensome employ,—only those being certified who are found in the possession of health not to be unduly impaired thereby, and only such to be employed as are certified.”

The same report says, in relation to the Granite Mills disaster at Fall River :—

“ A repetition of this disaster should be made practically impossible. No love of gain should be allowed to put human life at risk. The number of manufacturers who *knowingly* endanger the lives of their operatives is probably very small in this State ; but there are undoubtedly some, and these should be restrained by law. There are many more who take every means that they consider necessary to insure the safety of their operatives. These need law for enlightenment. Here and there can be found manufacturers who foresee and provide against every conceivable accident ; but these men are exceptional, and always will be. Other men, whose love of gain may be no stronger, and whose hearts may be as tender, continue to endanger the health and lives of their employés through sheer ignorance or thoughtlessness.”

In a general consideration of the subject of the condition of working people in their employments, the report for 1875 says :—

“ To remedy what we have referred to, requires, it seems to us, a simple, comprehensive factory Act, which shall clearly define the duties of mill-owners, as to the protection of machinery, ventilation, etc., of rooms, fire-escapes and the employment of children, and, if possible, of married women, and the regulation of their hours of labor ; and which should also clearly define the duties of parents ; the law should provide fines for both owners and parents for violation of its provisions ; a suitable number of inspectors should be provided, to see that all the provisions of the law are fully carried out, and also to see that the laws relating to the education of children of operatives are enforced.”

A factory Act, of which an outline is given on page 44, was suggested as a means of carrying out the above provisions.

As the results of an investigation into the manner of living of about four hundred families of workingmen, the following conclusions were arrived at :—

"*First.* That, among the families visited, those containing the greatest number of child workers occupy the most crowded rooms and the inferior class of tenements.

"*Second.* That about three-quarters of the workingmen's homes which we visited are in good condition as regards locality and needful sanitary provisions; but,—

"*Third.* That nearly one-half of the unskilled laborers live in the inferior tenements.

"*Fourth.* That the working classes of Massachusetts, judging from our investigations, are well fed.

"*Fifth.* That their food, in variety and quality, is above the average of that consumed in foreign countries, and that, as regards quantity of animal food used, their 'higher level' is unquestionable.

"*Sixth.* That, as far as our investigations extended, our workmen are, on the average, well and comfortably clothed.

"*Seventh.* That their manner of dress is, at least, capable of most favorable comparison with that in foreign countries.

"*Eighth.* That a large proportion of the skilled workingmen visited have sewing and other labor-saving machines in use in their families.

"*Ninth.* That, as evidences of material prosperity to a certain extent, significant numbers of the families (the aid of child labor being fully allowed) own pianos or cabinet-organs, have carpeted rooms, and maintain pews in church."

#### WAGES, EARNINGS, COST OF LIVING, SAVINGS.

Previous to 1875 many investigations had been made by the bureau into the wages, earnings, cost of living and savings of workingmen, but the small number of cases examined into invalidated, to a certain extent, the conclusions derived therefrom. In 1875 the investigations covered about four hundred families, and each family made *complete returns on all points* considered. The conclusions arrived at were, as regards *earnings*,—

"*First.* That, in the majority of cases, workingmen in this Commonwealth do not support their families by their individual earnings alone.

"*Second.* That the amount of earnings contributed by wives, generally speaking, is so small, that they would save more by staying at home than they gain by outside labor.

"*Third.* That fathers rely, or are forced to depend, upon their

children for from *one-quarter* to *one-third* of the entire family earnings.

"*Fourth.* That children under fifteen years of age supply, by their labor, from *one-eighth* to *one-sixth* of the total family earnings."

As regards expenses,—

"*First.* That, judging from the proportionate outlay for dress, as regards entire expenses, there is no evidence that the workingmen we visited, in obedience to fashion, indulged in an excessive or disproportionate expenditure.

"*Second.* That, from our investigations, we find no evidence, or indication, that workingmen spend large sums of money extravagantly or for bad habits.

"*Third.* That, as regards subsistence, rents and fuel, the workingmen's families which we visited paid therefor larger percentages of their income than do workingmen's families, with like incomes, in Prussia and other European countries.

"*Fourth.* That, as regards clothing and sundry expenses, our workingmen's families paid therefor smaller percentages of their income than do workingmen's families, with like incomes, in the countries mentioned above."

And, finally, as regards *savings*,—

"*First.* That more than *one-half* of the families visited save money; less than one-tenth are in debt, and the remainder make both ends meet.

"*Second.* That, without children's assistance, other things remaining equal, the majority of these families would be in poverty or debt.

"*Third.* That savings, by families and fathers alone, are made in every branch of occupation investigated; but that in only a few cases is there evidence of the possibility of acquiring a competence, and, in those cases, it would be the result of assisted or family labor.

"*Fourth.* That the higher the income, generally speaking, the greater the saving, actually and proportionately.

"*Fifth.* That the average saving is about *three per cent* of the earnings.

"*Sixth.* That while the houses of the workingmen visited compare most favorably with those in foreign countries and other States in the Union, yet, in certain of the United States, workingmen have better opportunities for acquiring homes of their own."

The report of 1872 remarked, in relation to deposits in savings banks,—

“That the increase of the deposits in savings banks is not an evidence of the increased means of the working classes, but that, on the contrary, the instances into which we have been able to examine, prove that the greatest *amount* of deposits is not the deposits of wage laborers.”

From returns three times as numerous as those obtained the year previous, the report for 1873 draws these conclusions :—

“*First.* That notwithstanding the commonly received opinion, the fact is that all the money on deposit in our savings banks is *not* the savings of wage labor, distinctively so called.

“*Second.* That from what is known to be the average annual earnings of wage laborers, and the average annual cost of supporting the average sized family of such laborers, a wage laborer cannot in any one single year, as a rule, save out of his earnings a sum of money equal to the average deposit of \$573.33, that being the average for the year 1870, of parties depositing in sums of and over \$300 at one time.

“*Third.* That beyond question, the depositors in our savings banks are, *in large excess*, as we have said, members of the wage-earning class; the deposits under \$300, for the year 1870, being on the average \$55.20 at one time.

“*Fourth.* That equally true it is that the safety, regularity and good management, financially, of these banks have allured deposits from the great middling class of the community, and that this class of depositors is increasing, although the theory of savings banks declares that they were intended for the poorer classes, they being believed to be less able to manage money affairs than the middle or trading class, or than professional persons.”

The report for 1874, with returns from 115 banks out of 169, showed the following results: Average deposit of day-wage laborers, \$121.72; the average for all depositors was \$152.91. The day-wage class deposited 44.8 per cent of the whole amount placed in the savings banks; it represented 57.7 per cent of the whole number of depositors. Of the deposits under \$300 at one time, the wage laborers deposited 58 per cent of the amount; of those above \$300 at one time,

36.4 per cent of the amount. The salaried, professional and so-called capitalist classes made up the remaining percentages. It will be seen that the conclusions of the bureau officers in 1872 and 1873 were substantially corroborated by the returns of 1874.

The introduction of the bill in 1876, relating to deposits and rate of interest in savings banks, was, undoubtedly, owing, in some extent, to the facts obtained by the bureau.

The report for 1876 contains returns from more than 70,000 workingmen and women, relating to wages, earnings, cost of living, and savings.

About fifty thousand workingmen reported an average annual income derived from usual daily wages, other earnings, earnings of wife and children and garden crops, of \$534.99. The average annual cost of living was \$488.96. This leaves a possible saving of \$46.03 yearly, or 8+ per cent. The returns for 1875 were entirely from married men having families dependent upon them, while the returns of 1876 are, in a great many instances, from single men. This fact may account, in part, for the increase in *percentage* of possible surplus or saving.

About fifteen thousand working women reported an average annual income, derived from the sources above-named, excepting, of course, wife's earnings, of \$203.59. The average annual cost of living was \$182.86. This indicates a possible saving of \$20.73 yearly, or 10+ per cent. The averages for *both* workingmen and women combined, from all the sources given above, were,—earnings, \$459.93; cost of living, \$439.09; possible saving, \$20.82. The possible average saving, in 1875, was nearly the same, being \$24.72.

#### RESULTS OF THE WAGE SYSTEM

The report for 1870 expressed the opinion,—

“That the wage system (though better than the villenage which it succeeded), which has been to the present day the accepted method of distribution of the proceeds of labor, has proved to be adverse in its influence to the general good, and that it should yield to the system of co-operation,—the vital question being, how to educate the people up to the adoption thereof.”

The report for 1872 gave expression to the following conclusions :—

“ We think that the history of wage labor and wage laborers, which we have presented, proves that the great body of working people,—from the date of the organization of wage labor,—has only kept along on a general level with their earnings,—they, however, barely paying their way, and being oftener in debt than out of debt ;

“ That those who perform the severest labor, and work the greatest number of hours, are the lowest paid,—always have been, and, under existing systems, must so continue to be,—they embodying that class which, from the necessity of inadequate wage, must commence labor at so early a period of life as to be deprived of a fair degree of education, and must, therefore, be perpetuated as the ignorant class, from which springs the ‘ dangerous class ’ in every nation, and which, spite of our educational advantages, already exists here, especially in our large municipalities ;

“ That poverty—by which we mean inability to subsist for any considerable period of time beyond the discontinuance, for any cause, of regular wage labor—always has been, and is, the normal condition of wage laborers, and that, therefore, the historic method of wage labor, or that system by which, in all time heretofore, the most work has been obtained for the least wage—is radically erroneous, and should be changed for one more just and more equitable in its distribution of the wealth produced by labor ;

“ That a reduction of wages has not followed a reduction of time, but, on the contrary, wages have increased with reduced hours ; nor has a proportionate reduction of product followed a reduction of time.”

The report for 1875 made the assertion that—

“ It seems natural and just that a man’s labor should be worth, and that his wages should be as much as, with economy and prudence, will comfortably maintain himself and family, enable him to educate his children, and also to lay by enough for his decent support when his laboring powers have failed.”

The report continues :—

“ This is what the wage system should do. What does it do that seems ‘ natural and just ’ ? What does it fail to do ? and What does it do that is weak and criminal ?

*"1st. What does it do?"* It enables the workingman, in a minority of cases, to comfortably maintain himself and family by his individual earnings; again, it enables the workingman, in the majority of cases, by the aid of the labor of his wife and children, to do the same. In both instances given above, it enables the father or family to keep some of the children at school.

*"2d. What does it fail to do?"* It fails to pay the father so much for his labor that he can in all cases support his family on his own earnings, educate all his children up to a proper age, buy a suitable home from his savings, or lay by enough for his decent support when his laboring powers have failed.

*"3d. What does it do that is weak and criminal?"* It uses men and women when they are strong, and leaves them to shift for themselves when they are sick, infirm or without employment. This it does by paying no more for labor than the bare cost of existence of the body. It usurps to its benefit the future productive power of the state, by employing children who should be in school or at play, setting at defiance the organic law of production by paying to 44 per cent of the individuals but 24 per cent in wage. It pays to 10 per cent of the workers such small wages that they are in debt and poverty, and it holds out to such unfortunates no promise or prospect of a bettering of condition, but allows them to become objects of commiseration, and to attribute their sufferings to the prevailing system of labor."

After considering the provisions of the National Bankrupt Law and its workings, the report inquires:—

"Why, in justice, should the broken merchant receive the benefit of the bankrupt law, when unable from loss or poor management to pay his bills, and the broken laborer, no more criminal or lacking in good intentions than the merchant, have only the poor debtor's oath to relieve him (and then only from arrest, the debt remaining), with its attendant stultification of his feelings of manhood?"

"Why should not the insolvent laborer be discharged from all debts, under the provisions of a general insolvent law (in which the legal fees established should not be so large as to be prohibitory in his case), by the payment of fifty per cent, as well as the bankrupt merchant?"

"Firms and corporations, when threatened with loss, reduce expenses, stop manufacturing, and, if necessary, pay half the amount of their bills and begin afresh. The workingman suffers by the suspension of work, cannot reduce his expenses materially, gets in debt,

has no royal way of beginning again, but must keep on with his load of debt still hanging to him. Either one thing or the other, it is plain, should be done. Either every competent adult laborer should receive enough as wages (the minimum sum, and as much more as he can command) to enable him to get along without debt, or he should have the same recourse to a relieving law that merchants, corporations or other employers possess."

The consideration of the subject is thus concluded :—

"Much can be rightfully and truly said, as we have shown, against the prevailing wage system, but the iconoclasm that strives to break it down, unless at the same time it shows the superstructure of a more equitable and easily managed one, will be devoid of fruitful results or permanent benefit."

#### EDUCATION AND KINDRED TOPICS.

No subject has received more attention from the bureau officers than that of education—with particular reference to working children. Their cause was warmly espoused at the outset, and each year has brought facts, figures and earnest argument bearing upon the question of the schooling of such children. Messrs. Oliver and McNeill have each held the position of special constable for the execution of the school laws, and have done everything possible, by word and act, under existing laws, to secure the right of education to the child-workers of the Commonwealth.

The report for 1870 declared,—

"That the present law in relation to the employment of children in manufacturing and mechanical establishments in the State is a dead-letter, and that to remedy this evil an enactment should prohibit the employment of any child under thirteen years of age, nor at that age, unless such child has received the elements of a common school education,—age and education to be matters of due certificate provided for by law,—and no children under fifteen years to be employed in such establishments more than eight hours a day, and those to be between seven o'clock in the forenoon and five o'clock in the afternoon, or within a period of five hours before, and of five hours after mid-day."



The provisions recommended in the report of 1871 were still more stringent, requiring—

“The prohibition by law, with appropriate means of enforcement, that no child under thirteen years of age shall be employed in any such establishment, nor at that age, unless such child has received the elements of a common school education,—age and education to be matters of due certificate provided for by law; and, further, that all children between thirteen and fifteen years of age, so employed, shall not be employed more than six hours any one day, said hours to be between six o'clock in the forenoon and six o'clock in the afternoon, and shall attend school, vacations excepted, three hours on each and every day.”

To secure the carrying out of the above recommendations, the same report advocated,—

“The establishment of a system of half-time schools for children between thirteen and fifteen years of age, employed in such establishments, and for other children whose avocations deprive them of the benefits of the ordinary full-time schools.”

The report for 1872, speaking of the education of working children, says,—

“Attention has been drawn to the fact that large numbers of children in the State are unschooled, and a general demand has arisen for an effective compulsory law and its enforcement. In addition to this, half-time schools are becoming better understood and appreciated.”

The same report again advocated the establishment of half-time schools, as did the report issued in 1873. The report for 1874 expresses its convictions as follows :—

“From what we have been able to learn, the law in relation to the employment of children neither is, nor can be, enforced. Should the managers of mills co-operate heartily with the officers of the cities and towns, or of the State, the law could not well be enforced. The testimony of the school boards in some of the manufacturing places is, that often as much difficulty arises from parents as from mill-owners and managers.

"The interest of parents, and, alas, too frequently the necessity of the case, compels the father or mother, or both, to register a falsehood, in order to keep the wolf from the door; but so long as children of tender age, more fit for the hospital than the mill, are allowed to have a place in our factories, their employment will be tolerated, and the cheapness of their labor materially affects the wages of older persons.

"With compulsory education, in fact, as well as in theory, will come a remedy of this evil, and a positive benefit be received for the operatives; but behind, and superior to all compulsion by law, there should exist that most powerful of all incentives to action,—strong, healthy and unmistakable public sentiment.

"There should be, and probably there is, some way to enforce the principle which Massachusetts believes to be her system of education—schooling for all classes; but, as yet, so far as mill-children are concerned, not only our law but our system, in a large degree, is a dead-letter."

After examining the statistics of the state board of education, the report continues,—

"It is safe, therefore, to say that, at least 25,000 children between the ages of five and fifteen do not receive the slightest education either in our public or private schools. From all we can learn, a very large proportion of this number would come under the provisions of the sole factory-law of the Commonwealth, if the law was broad enough and provided sufficient means for enforcing it."

The succeeding signs of progress are from the same report:—

"To educate the mill-children, and carry along the school with their work, a few cities and towns have established half-time, or evening schools. Four towns and cities,—viz., Pittsfield, Taunton, Salem and Springfield,—have half-time schools, and thirteen towns and cities,—viz., Chelsea, Fall River, Hinsdale, Lawrence, Marlborough, Medford, Pittsfield, Salem, Springfield, Taunton, Westfield, Ware and Worcester,—have evening schools for such purpose.

"Generally these schools are in a flourishing condition, and are accomplishing a good work.

"It is deserving special mention that the Merchants Mills of Dedham have a school of their own, employing the teachers, etc.; the average attendance is 120, three nights a week. That the

Hopewell Cotton Mills of Taunton support at their own expense a day school during three months of the year. Also that the Whittenton Mills of Taunton sustain two churches, two Sabbath schools and libraries for the benefit of their operatives. The Pacific Mills at Lawrence have a large library for operatives, the expense of which is sustained partially by the corporation.

“The whole number of towns and cities having evening schools of all kinds is thirty-seven.”

The summing up of evidence collected led to the following conclusion and recommendation :—

“Upon this subject of the education of mill-children, there seems to be but one opinion : that the matter is not attended to, either by the state or local authorities ; that legislation is desired to compel attendance, to punish illegal employment of children, and to provide proper schools for instruction of operatives, along with work.”

The report for 1875, as will be seen by reference to page 41 *et seq.*, took strong ground against the establishment of half-time schools, and as strong ground in favor of compulsory education. The *number* of unschooled children has always been a matter of doubt, despite the returns of the board of education. The census for 1875 will show the number of persons of the school age in the State. The number of children attending school, for at least three months in the year, was also ascertained by an inquiry on the family schedule, and those both at school and at work are specially designated. It is hoped that the results when presented will supply a solution of the question as to the number of uneducated children growing up among us, and indicate where the remedy must be applied. If the law passed in 1876, and given on page 46, is properly enforced, the evils of child labor will be thoroughly known, then mitigated, and finally removed.

#### CO-OPERATION.

The consideration of the subject of co-operation has not been carried to a great length in the reports. The English successes and failures have been noted and commented on, but the system has failed to take strong root in our laboring

communities, and there has been but little of home progress to record.

The report for 1870, referring to associations of labor and capital, remarks,—

“That legislation having hitherto favored capital, almost exclusively, the remedy for this partiality is the extension of its protection to labor, so that associations of labor shall be as favorably recognized as associations of capital.”

The report of 1873, in its consideration of the progress of labor legislation, says :—

“The time of legislatures, national and State, is occupied almost exclusively with the consideration of questions how to increase the facilities by which capital may be accumulated, while very little time or thought is given to the question how the laborer can, by lessened work-time and increased means, achieve that education which shall elevate him to a truer manhood. With this added leisure, and these increased means, and this better education, he will be able to think out and to work out the methods by which co-operation may safely take the place of wage-labor. For to this he looks as the end of the solution of the absorbing questions at issue between capital and labor.”

The report for 1874 thus refers to co-operation in the city of Fall River :—

“There is one co-operative store, for the sale of groceries, provisions, meat, and boots and shoes, doing a cash business of \$60,000 per year. They have paid to members as profits, during six years, \$29,760.84. They now own their stores and are in a very flourishing condition. In addition to this, there are twenty-one dividing stores, dividing \$30,000 worth per month, at a cost of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and a profit of 20 per cent on purchases; a saving of \$72,000 a year to the families engaged in them. Quite a large amount of stock of corporations is owned by operatives, and several hundred thousand dollars stand to their credit in savings banks, besides a larger amount in real estate.”

The report for 1875 devotes fifty pages to the subject of distributive co-operation, and gives returns from nearly all the distributive co-operative societies in the State. The information contained in the article is exhaustive, and forms

the most complete presentation ever given, in this State, of co-operative principles and their extension among the classes likely to be benefited by their introduction. The advantages of co-operation are thus explained :—

- “Distributive co-operation will help that man and others who avail themselves of it. If one purchases a barrel of flour at a co-operative store for a dollar less than one of the same quality can be bought elsewhere, he has saved the earnings of a third or half a day’s work. If, as experience appears to indicate, about ten per cent can be stated as an average return to the purchaser of money paid in, on a trade of \$250 per annum, \$25 is saved. This is not all, however: being a member with others, he knows that the articles he is receiving came in unbroken packages from the producer or wholesale dealer, and that they are free from adulteration by deleterious or other ingredients; hence they will go farther. He knows, too, that he obtains full weight; consequently his purchase will last him longer, so that he receives a substantial gain from three sources.”

#### XI.—THE CENSUS AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS OF 1875.

The first officers of the bureau, Messrs. Oliver and McNeill, saw at the outset of their work that the limited appropriation allowed the bureau, and its want of power, would prevent the investigations having that force that comes from numbers. An average based upon fifty returns may be as true as one founded on fifty thousand; but the argument to prove it can never be made as effective as the fifty thousand returns themselves. The officers above named, in the report for 1871, recommended—

“The authorization by law, with methods of carrying it into effect, of a thorough and exhaustive system of statistics, to be gathered by the parties employed in taking the next state census, in 1875, covering the subjects of the wages, earnings and savings, time employed and lost, of all classes of working people, the number of persons (men, women, young persons and children) employed in the several industrial occupations in the Commonwealth, and of other matters connected with the subject of labor in the State.”

The same officers repeated the recommendation in the report for 1872, and reiterated it in that for 1873. In the latter report they also said :—

"We would recommend that the assessors of each city and town, the agents or superintendents of all manufacturing and mechanical establishments, the treasurers of all chartered corporations, manufacturing, mechanical, mercantile, transportation, and savings banks, etc., be required to report to this bureau, on or before the first day of September of each year, answers to such questions relating to ownership of property, wages, earnings, hours of labor, savings, etc., pertaining to the question of labor, as comprised in the Resolve establishing the bureau."

A bill similar to the above in general import was introduced in the House in 1876, with the idea of carrying into effect the recommendations of Governor Rice. The disposal of the bill is recorded on page 45.

Messrs. Wright and Long, in their report for 1874, sustained the recommendations of the former officers, and June 30, 1874, the following Act was approved:—

[Chap. 386, Acts of 1874.]

AN ACT to provide for taking the Industrial Statistics and Decennial Census of the Commonwealth.

SECT. 1. The industrial statistics of the Commonwealth for the year eighteen hundred and seventy-five shall be gathered under the direction of the bureau of statistics of labor by such of the assessors of the several cities and towns as said bureau shall appoint.

SECT. 2. The decennial census of the Commonwealth, required by articles twenty-one and twenty-two of the amendments to the constitution, shall be taken by the same persons as are appointed to gather the industrial statistics as provided in the preceding section, and the returns thereof shall be returned into the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth.

SECT. 3. The secretary of the board of education, the secretary of the board of agriculture, and the insurance commissioner, shall revise the schedule of heads of information set forth in chapter one hundred and forty-six of eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and suggest to said bureau such alterations therein, and additions thereto relating to the subjects within their several departments, as they may respectively deem advisable; and the officers of said bureau shall revise the schedule, with the alterations and suggestions thus proposed, and lay the same, so revised, before the governor and council for their approval, on or before the first day of December next; and the said schedule, when approved by the governor and council, shall take the place of and be substituted for the schedule

contained in said chapter one hundred and forty-six of eighteen hundred and sixty-five.

SECT. 4. So far as the returns of the industrial statistics from the several cities and towns relate to the amount, description and value of stock, and fuel consumed, and of articles manufactured; to the produce of land, quarries, kilns, coal-beds, ore-beds, and fisheries; to wool, wood, bark, charcoal, farm products, live stock, ice and products of like character; to vessels and boats built and buildings erected,—they shall embrace the year ending on the first day of May in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-five; and in all other particulars shall state the facts as they shall exist in the respective cities and towns on said first day of May, eighteen hundred and seventy-five, agreeably to such general directions as may be seasonably prescribed by the bureau of statistics of labor.

SECT. 5. The said bureau, after it shall have gathered the facts as called for by this act, shall cause to be prepared and printed true abstracts of the same for the use of the legislature.

SECT. 6. If any party authorized by said bureau to collect statistics under this act shall wilfully neglect to make true returns of his doings, as may be called for, he shall forfeit and pay a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars; and if any person shall refuse to give information required by this act, to a person duly authorized to receive the same, he shall forfeit and pay a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.

SECT. 7. All fines arising under this act may be recovered in any court of competent jurisdiction, by information or complaint of the attorney-general, and shall accrue wholly to the Commonwealth.

SECT. 8. So much of section three of chapter sixty-nine of the acts of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five as is inconsistent with the provisions of this act is hereby repealed.

SECT. 9. Chapter one hundred and forty-six of the acts of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five is hereby amended so as to conform to the provisions of this act.

SECT. 10. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Immediately upon the passage of the above Act, the bureau began its preliminary work. From the Industrial Statistics of the State for 1865, the United States Census of 1870, the censuses of New York and the British Empire, from documents supplied by Dr. Edward Jarvis, Gen. Francis A. Walker, and other statisticians, all possible information was obtained. Circulars were sent to the assessors of each town, requesting the names of new industries, and subdivisions of

old ones, started within their towns during the preceding ten years. Every available work containing the names of industries or their subdivisions was examined. Labor reformers were requested to submit forms of questions to elicit the information desired on the subject of labor. Correspondence was had with the board of education, board of agriculture, and the insurance commissioner, in relation to the provisions of section three. December 12, 1874, the Industrial Statistics Schedule was presented in manuscript to the governor and council. December 22, the committee of the council to whom it was referred reported that they had "examined the same, and take great pleasure in recommending its approval by the governor and council." The report was accepted the same day, and the schedule became part of the law.

A brief description only of the Industrial Statistics Schedule can be given here. It has been printed, and, with copies of all forms and schedules used in the carrying out of the law of 1874, forms a volume entitled "THE CENSUS SYSTEM OF MASSACHUSETTS." Copies will be sent to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, heads of state departments, prominent statisticians in this country and Europe, and wherever its circulation may be deemed of advantage. We give a synopsis of its contents:—

**Div. I.—*Manufactures*.**—This division contains fifty subdivisions, mentioning by name, and denoting the specific questions applying, ten hundred and seventy-six industries and subdivisions of industries. The general questions were from six to eight in number; the special inquiries numbered thirty-four.

**Div. II.—*Occupations*.**—Three subdivisions, containing the names of eighty-six occupations. Three to ten general questions, and forty-two special.

**Div. III.—*Products*.**—Two subdivisions, containing the names of one hundred and twenty-five products. From one to eight general questions.

**Div. IV.—*Property*.**—Three subdivisions, containing the names or description of fifty kinds of property.

**Div. V.—*Special Inquiries*.**—Four subdivisions, containing twenty-six special inquiries relating to *employers* and their *establishments*, twenty-four relating to *individuals* (workingmen, women and children), eighteen submitted by the secretary of the board of education, and three proposed by the insurance commissioner.



The Indexes cover the divisions above mentioned, sixty-four subdivisions, and thirteen hundred and thirty-seven schedule heads upon which information was desired and provided for. The Appendix contains all laws pertaining to the subject, and copies of all schedules and forms used in the prosecution of the work.

Chap. 37, Resolves of 1875, provided compensation for taking the Census and Industrial Statistics, fixing the hours for enumerators at ten daily, and the pay at three dollars. One enumerator was allowed for each 1,500 polls.

Chap. 93, Acts of 1875, provided that the enumerators in the city of Boston should be appointed by the mayor and aldermen, and that a special enumeration of the legal voters residing in each street, avenue or square should be made. The privileges of this special enumeration of legal voters was also extended to the other cities of the Commonwealth.

The sum of \$70,000 was appropriated on the 19th of April, 1874, to begin the work, and the work was commenced that day. Circular letters were sent to mayors and selectmen for the nominations of enumerators. Upon the receipt of names an explanatory letter as to duties, etc., and a commission, were sent to each; also a form of oath to perform duties as required by law. Upon receipt of the latter, schedules and instructions were forwarded, and on May 25th enumerators were engaged in the work, every town being provided for. Additional instructions were sent as necessity required, and a large correspondence was carried on daily to meet special points of inquiry. Each enumerator was required to keep a detailed time account, and make oath to the same. The names of parties refusing to answer inquiries were sent to the office upon "penalty notices." Correspondence was then entered into with the delinquent parties, and, in the whole State, less than a score of manufacturers have failed to comply with the requirements of the law. The enumerator made oath, also, as to the number of schedules collected, and gave, upon a form provided, his personal opinion of the accuracy of the work, showing, especially, points of failure, and items in his experience as a collector of facts. Census returns were soon received from the smaller towns, and the work of tabulation began immediately. Within a week after the arrival of the

last census returns a printed recapitulation of fourteen points upon the family schedule was presented to the secretary of state. The tabulation of the industrial statistics was commenced as soon as a suitable number of returns had been received.

In 1876, the sum of \$46,000 was appropriated to meet the deficiency for 1875, and a further sum of \$21,500 to complete the tabulations and preparation for the press. The whole cost, not including printing and binding, was \$137,500. The number of men employed as enumerators was five hundred and twenty-nine. Average time of each man employed, fifty-one days. The whole number of properly filled schedules returned to the office was 506,702. The answers on the same are closely estimated at *thirteen millions*.

#### SCHEDULE FORMS AND MANNER OF TABULATION.

The schedule forms used were six in number, and designated by the following names: Family, Individual, Manufactures, Occupation, Products and Property, and Special. A special instruction sheet was sent out with the Family schedule; the instructions were attached to the others. Every inquiry contained in the Industrial Statistics schedule found a place on one or the other of the specified forms. The following presentation will give an idea of the schedule arrangement as regards subjects:—

*Family Schedule.*—Name, Relation to Head of Family, Sex and Age, Color and Race, Conjugal Condition, Children, Place of Birth, Profession, Trade or Occupation, School Attendance, Private Libraries, Illiteracy, Diseased Conditions, Pauperism, Crime, Polls, Voters and Aliens, and the general points, Number of Families, and number of occupied and unoccupied dwelling houses.

*Individual Schedule.*—Occupation chiefly depended on for a living, whether at work, number dependent, hours employed daily, days employed yearly, daily wage, yearly earnings, other earnings, wife's earnings, minor children's earnings, chronic sickness and disability, number owning houses, mortgages, rate of interest on same, number of rooms hired, yearly rent, value of garden crops, cost of living, amount in savings bank and volumes in private library.

*Manufactures Schedule.*—General inquiries, Persons employed, Time employed, Wages, Work furnished Women at Home, "Team" work, Relief Funds and Libraries, Accidents, Motive Power, Size of

Establishment, Persons in each Story and Means of Escape in case of Fire, Gas Companies, Paper, Grist, Flouring and Lumber Mills, Tanneries, Cheese Factories, Machinery in Cotton, Woollen and Worsted Mills, Ship Yards, Book and Pamphlet Publishing, Newspapers and other Periodicals.

*Occupation Schedule.*—Occupations related to Manufactures, Persons employed, Time employed, Wages, Work furnished Women at Home, Relief Funds and Libraries, Motive Power, Accidents, Size of Establishment, Persons in each Story and Means of Escape in case of Fire, Cod and Mackerel Fishing, Wages, Profits and Investments of Persons employed in Cod and Mackerel Fishing, Shell-fishing, Whale Fishery, Fish taken for Oil or other Products, Fish taken for Food, Coastwise and Ocean Commerce.

*Products and Property Schedule.*—Domestic Manufactures, Hay, Agricultural Products, Number, Acreage and Value of Farms, Number, Description and Value of Buildings on Farms, Persons Employed in Agriculture, Wages in Agriculture, Value of Agricultural Implements in Use, Cultivated Land, Uncultivated Land, Fruit Trees and Grape Vines, Mines, Quarries, Pits, Domestic Animals.

*Special Schedule.*—Libraries, Public Schools, Incorporated and Unincorporated Private Schools, Reservoirs.

Of the half million schedules returned properly filled to the office, 359,000 were Family schedules, with twenty-one inquiries each ; Individual schedule, 80,893, with twenty inquiries ; Manufactures schedule, 10,730, with one hundred and five inquiries ; Occupation schedule, 11,641, with eighty-nine inquiries ; Products and Property schedule, 42,207, with forty-three inquiries ; Special schedule, 2,231, with twenty-one inquiries,—a total of two hundred and ninety-nine distinct inquiries.

The tabulations were conducted on newly devised plans, which demonstrated their efficiency by most satisfactory results. Each tabulation was subjected to the test of proof, and every omission or error brought to knowledge, corrected in detail.

The legislature of 1876 provided for the stereotyping of the census and industrial statistics abstracts, and for the printing, binding and distribution of six thousand copies of the same.

## XII.—CONCLUSION.

Beyond the point we have reached, the work of the bureau is not history, and the outline of future work is too ill-defined to indulge in prophecy or promise. The publishing of the census and industrial statistics is the immediate work of the bureau. The three volumes contemplated are—I. The Census, Schools and Libraries; II. Manufactures and Occupations; III. Agriculture. They will aggregate from 1,200 to 1,500 pages in public document, octavo.

We do not think the history of the bureau can be effectively summarized in a concluding section, nor do we believe it is needed. Whatever point is considered we think there will be found the gratifying sign of progress. In labor legislation, in the broadening of the scope of the bureau's work, in the results from the additional powers conferred, even if not reaching its highest aims, the bureau has reason for satisfaction. The officers can say "we have endeavored well," and the hope of the present historian is, that if, in the future, a similar work is performed, and the results of other years of bureau work are converted into history, that the facts presented will show an advanced belief in the dignity of labor, an advanced condition in every respect in the status of workmen and women, an increase in their happiness, a mitigation of their burdens, their fuller participation in the results of their toil,—all tending to guarantee the perpetuity and solid glory of our honored Commonwealth.



## INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

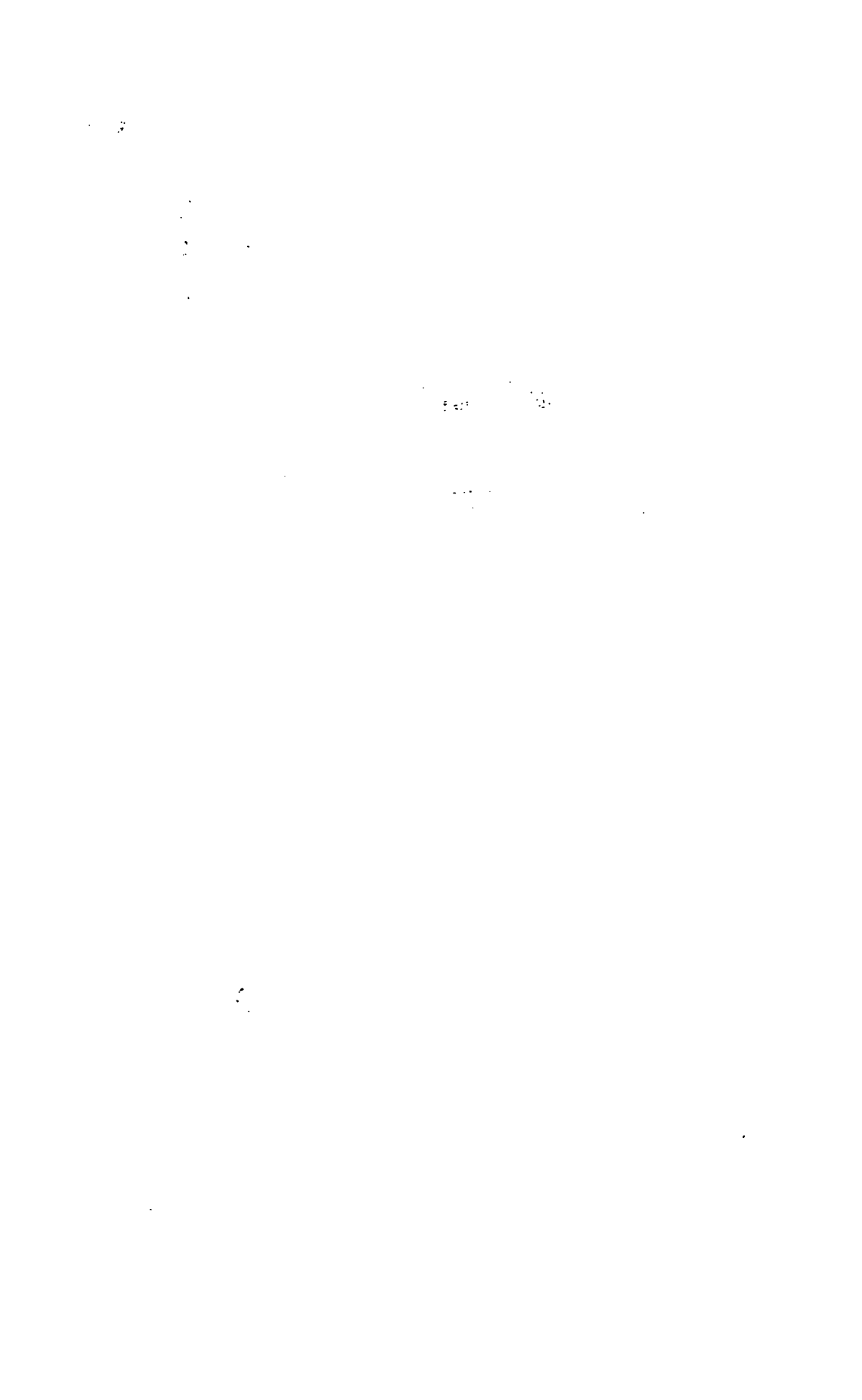
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